

Mikal Jakubal on "Biocentrism"/Feral Faun on "Beyond Earth First!"

Also: Reports on the abortion rights march in D.C., and the Polish opposition

ANARCHY a journal of DESIRE ARMED

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Issue #19

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

May-July 1989



Collage by Freddie Baer

Special issue on children's sexuality!

"Save the children" by Richard Walters

"Sexuality and the mystique of innocence" by Laure A.

"Pedophilia: Views from the other side"

"Liberating sexuality; Reviews of *Sexual Friendship* and *Show Me!*" by Lev Chernyi

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Openers

Anarchy notes

Odds 'n ends

The final stages of production and layout of our last issue found me running out of space, time and energy, leading to a few more last-minute errors than usual. First of all, we somehow managed to lose the credit for the front cover photo, which was shot by our collaborator A. Hacker. Secondly, we somehow incredibly managed to leave out the credit for the Wildcat Comics strip which appeared on page two, despite the fact that we printed a letter from its author in the letters section of that issue. The strip was reprinted from the nicely done booklet, **Wildcat Anarchist Comics**, published by Freedom Press (84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, U.K.). Copies are available from us postpaid for \$4.50 each. Additionally, the **Anarchy** Contacts listing was deleted at the last minute due to a lack of space. As you can see it's back again with this issue, though.

Children's sexuality

The focus for this issue is children's sexuality, a too-often neglected theme for anarchists and libertarian radicals. If one doesn't live with children or have very close young friends, it's very easy to overlook the crucial problems involved for everyone who grows up in an extremely sexually repressive, yet spectacularly titillating, environment. This is a situation that is not only extremely stressful for children, but for the adults who live, work and play with them, since in the current hysterical "witch-hunt" atmosphere, those who make genuine attempts to live loving and sexually open lives with children must risk exposure and labelling as child "molesters" or "abusers," with all the persecution, public censure, and often imprisonment that this entails. And even worse, with the current flirtation between the Christian right and the anti-porn wing of the feminist movement, sexually repressive, ageist and outright authoritarian attitudes have become more prevalent within otherwise radical—and even in anarchist—circles. We hope that those readers who fear the open expression of children's sexuality, and who worry about the risks of adult intimacy with children, will accept the

comments and discussions in this issue as contributions towards the formation of a more liberatory, self-empowering, and emotionally healthy sexuality—and not as perverse provocations of the prevailing compulsory sexual-morality and its accompanying hypocritical forms of sexual consciousness.

Double issue

Provided there is enough time to produce it before the summer anarchist gathering in San Francisco, our next issue will likely be a special "double"-issue, counting as numbers 20 and 21 towards subscriptions, and selling for twice the usual price. One of the focusses of our upcoming issue will be "relationships." Individual topics we'll be touching on under this general heading will include sexual friendship, jealousy, monogamy/non-monogamy, and the idea of love. Also, to be included on this subject will be Laurie Ulster's nicely-done short story, "I'll Remember You." Besides this we'll also be printing Kevin Keating's excellent longer story "The Man in the Box." Don't miss this issue!

What do you think?

One of the factors which influences what we print is what our readers want to read. We haven't yet formally asked for reader's opinions on **Anarchy**, but it's about time we attempted to solicit a little more direct and comprehensive information concerning what you like and don't like about **Anarchy**. To this end, those interested in giving us a quick opinion on the current status of this paper can fill in the following little survey and send it back to us.

Indicate whether you basically or usually like or dislike the following sections of **Anarchy** by circling the ones you like and crossing out the ones you dislike.

OPENERS, RADICAL NEWS IN REVIEW, ALTERNATIVE PRESS REVIEW, ANARCHIST PRESS REVIEW, INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST NEWS, THE PAPALAGI SERIES, THE DISCUSSION OF ANARCHY & RELIGION, THE COLUMNS—Interrogations for the Human Community, The Nihilist's Dictionary, A's for Attitude, The Badguy Report, Feral Revolution, LETTERS SECTION, and COVER GRAPHICS.

What kind of topics would you like to see us cover in future issues? _____

What else could we do to make **Anarchy** more readable and interesting for you? _____

What annoys you the most about **Anarchy**? _____

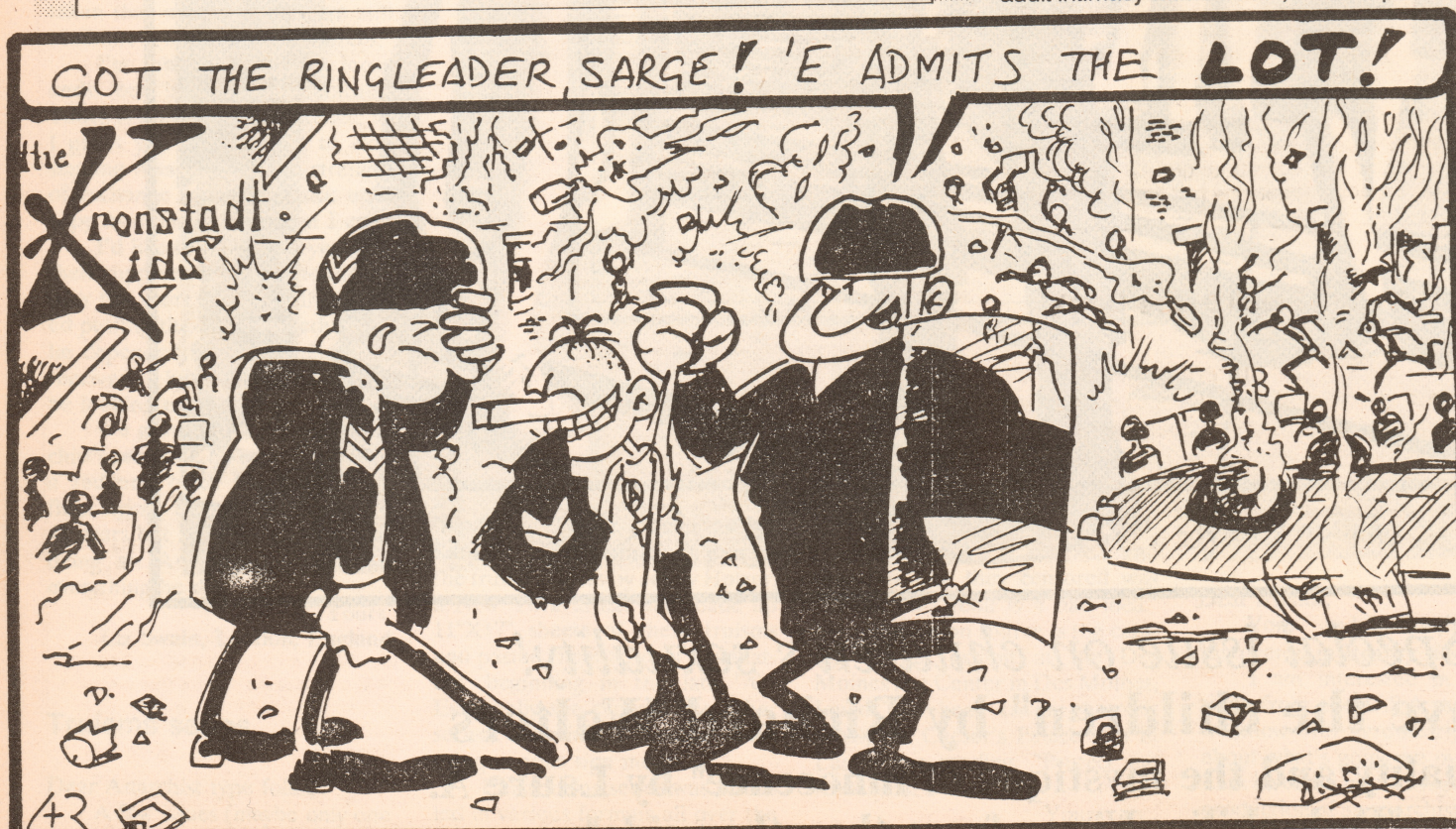
What other complaints do you have? _____

What do we do best? _____

Sustaining contributors

We want to thank all our current sustaining contributors (as well as those who have sent us other contributions over our subscription rates) for their special contributions! It is contributions like these which make it

Continued on next page



Openers

The Sad Truth

Logging company wins damages against C.D. participants

On July 23rd, 1987 five women and a man occupied logging equipment at the Sapphire Creek timber sale in the North Kalmiopsis rainforest to protest the destruction of this irreplaceable ecological treasure. The protest was non-violent; five chained themselves to the cables and cab of a yarder (equipment that hauls logs up a hillside), while one woman climbed to the top of the 92-foot spar pole to unfurl a banner.

The protesters willingly cooperated with the police and criminal court. They served two weeks in jail, paid fines and are paying court-ordered restitution to Huffman & Wright Logging, owner of the yarder, for a day's lost wages. Intending to "make an example" of this case, Huffman & Wright (with powerful timber industry backing) sued the "Sapphire Six" for \$6,800 in actual and \$50,000 in "punitive" damages. The purpose of the punitive damage

claim is to deter future civil disobedience interference with illegal logging activities in the North Kalmiopsis, or anywhere else.

In a November 1988 trial a jury awarded \$5,000 in actual damages and \$25,000 in punitive damages to the Huffman & Wright Logging Co. The impact of this decision extends far beyond the environmental community. A legal precedent could be set that would allow any large industry to sue private citizens for exercising their "right" of free expression.

In recent years there has been a national trend toward corporate lawsuits against all types of political protesters. The University of Colorado Center for Intimidation Lawsuits has tracked over one hundred cases where corporations have sued private citizens. In none of these cases were punitive damages ultimately awarded. Nevertheless, defense against these suits drains citizens' resources and thus interferes with their First Amendment "rights" of freedom of speech and freedom to petition "their" government.

The Earth First! Legal Offense Fund (POB 3499, Eugene, OR. 97403) believes that there is now an opportunity to set a very strong precedent in the Oregon Appeals Court. Lawyers are volunteering their time for the appeal of the Sapphire Six damage claim, but filing fees and other expenses must be met, including \$2,000 needed immediately to pay for transcripts of the trial in order to prepare the appeal. Contributions can be sent to the address above.

Venezuelans revolt against IMF austerity measures

Three days of protests and rioting followed the Venezuelan government's announcement of higher prices for bus fares, gasoline, utilities, food and basic commodities. The higher prices were required by the I.M.F. (International Monetary Fund) before it would grant \$1.5 billion in credit to the political, military and business elites of this country, whose foreign debt already stands at \$33 billion.

Martial law was declared and 22,000 troops and police were mobilized in the capitol of Caracas alone, to prevent further protest and to ensure the survival of the government. People were prohibited from gathering or protesting in public places, "rights" to privacy and freedom of the press were suspended, and the military began detaining and shooting citizens with impunity.

According to A.P. (Associated Press) reports, Venezuelan government spokesperson Pastor Heydra (whose lifestyle undoubtedly won't suffer), announced that "Venezuelans should take this time to reflect on the fact that Venezuela is a different country now, and we have to learn different consumption habits and behavior habits." However, while Heydra's announcement was obviously aimed at the middle and lower classes of society, he conspicuously did not release any details of the changes to be made in the consumption habits of the rich and powerful.

At least 200 people were reportedly killed, 800 injured and thousands imprisoned in what Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, lamented in a televised address as an "incredible tragedy," despite the fact that the results of

his criminal decision to accept the I.M.F. terms were clearly foreseeable.

Jose Nunez del Prado of Palo Verde was quoted by A.P. as saying, "I saw angry mobs shout at an army unit of approximately 200, 'We prefer to be killed by bullets than to die from starvation.' Then shots started, and I saw three fall dead. People covered the corpses with blankets."

The I.M.F., ultimately responsible for the immediate crisis in Venezuela, is largely a tool of U.S. governmental and business interests, in conjunction with those of its other "advanced"

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ANARCHY CONTACT NETWORK?

We are beginning a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency. The list will help enable those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links. If you'd like to see your address added to this listing please write:

Anarchy c/o C.A.L.
POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

Craig Stuntz
531 Westchester Way
Birmingham, MI. 48009

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Jamaica Plain, MA. 02130

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8306 Lindley Ave. #2
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Ann Howe
POB 311712
New Braunfels, TX. 78131

Mailing codes

For those who are interested in such things, if you received this issue of *Anarchy* by mail, there was likely a short code in the upper right corner of the mailing label. The code key follows:

"#19" indicates that you are a U.S. subscriber whose subscription will run out with this issue, or that we're exchanging with your publication on a one-for-one basis, or that for some other reason we're sending you a copy of the current issue. Other numbers alone indicate that your subscription will end with that number or already has ended with that number. So, if your mailing code indicates that your subscription has ended with this issue, now is the time to renew!

"#P19" indicates that you are receiving a free prisoner's subscription, but that it will expire with the issue number indicated unless you contact us to let us know that you wish to continue receiving *Anarchy*!

"#S19" indicates that you paid a little extra to receive your subscription in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"#Z19" indicates that you paid even more in order to receive your subscription by 1st class mail in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

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"#X" indicates that we exchange (or at least wish to exchange) with your periodical on a regular (all-for-all) basis, and that you publish in the U.S. If we hear from you, we'll most likely continue sending *Anarchy*. If we don't, sooner or later (probably sooner) we'll stop sending it.

"#X19" indicates that we are exchanging with you on an issue-for-issue basis, and that you indeed have sent us a copy of your publication since our last issue was mailed out.

"#FX" indicates that we exchange with your periodical (or wish to) and that you publish outside the U.S. Keep sending us your publication, and most likely we'll keep sending you ours, even if it drives both of us into bankruptcy.

"#M10" indicates that for one reason or another we're sending you multiple copies of each issue of *Anarchy*—usually in the amount of the number following the "M." You might be a bookstore or distributor. You might just be a good friend or special contributor. If you get a bill with your multiple copies you're probably one of the former. If you don't get billed, consider yourself one of the latter!

"#C19" indicates that you've been a contributor to *Anarchy* at some point, and we're sending you free subscription ending with the issue number given.

For those whose mailing codes don't make sense by this schema, maybe we marked them wrong, maybe we forgot them, or just maybe you're not who you seem!

Anarchy #19

May-July 1989

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Anarchy is a bimonthly publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit organization of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world.

We sell no advertising, have no paid staff, and finance this journal entirely through donations and subscriptions.

Subscriptions are currently:

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\$12.00U.S./six issues for libraries and institutions (North America)

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For submissions, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, stories, photos, and graphic art if you wish to have them returned. Short news and comment articles which are used in the "The sad truth," "Radical news in review," and "International anarchist news" will be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free subscriptions or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation.

Editorial advisory group: A. Hacker, Shagbark Hickory, Toni Otter, Badguy, Mikell Zhan, Avid Darkly and Lev Chernyi.

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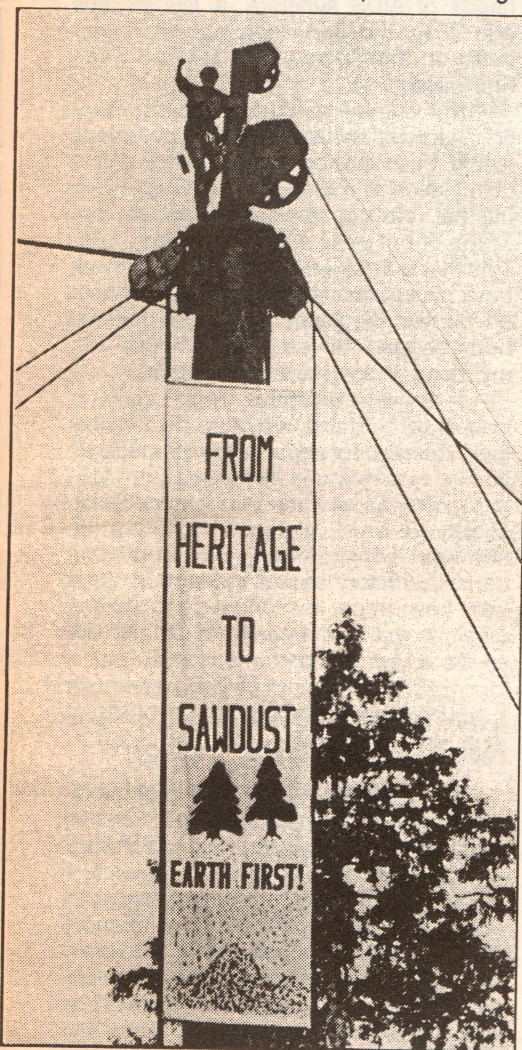


Photo by David Cross

Anarchy notes continued from page 2

possible for us to continue publishing by considerably lessening our financial stresses. As anyone might guess, we still have a ways to go before *Anarchy* will completely pay for itself, if it ever will. Until then, not only will we continue spending hundreds of hours "working" on the production and distribution of each issue, but we will also have to continue working "extra" and "over-time" in order to pay off the difference between what each issue costs and the amount each issue brings in with subscriptions and contributions. Our current sustainers include: S.H. of Spencerport, NY.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; D.D., L.C., T.O., and A.H. of Columbia, MO.; K.M. of Scarborough, Ontario; A.M. of Farmingdale, N.J.; G.M. of Yellow Springs, OH.; C.Q. of Pawtucket, R.I.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; D.S. in Ohio; and A.G. of Paris, France. Thank you all for your special support!

Armed Desire—the book!

One of our current projects is the compilation of the "best" of past issues of *Anarchy* into book form, tentatively titled *Armed Desire*. However, in order to get it published we'll need to raise a substantial sum of money—a rough estimate for now is \$5,000 or \$6,000. We'll see to it that the book is of decent quality (and hopefully, of high quality). At this time we're planning on producing a paperback of 120 to 180 pages in length. In order to raise a substantial quantity of money in time for printing the book this coming autumn, we'd like people to think about advance orders, donations and loan pledges. If we can raise half the printing costs by such methods, we'll go ahead and borrow the rest and proceed with publication. If you think this is a worthwhile project, we'd like to hear from you!

Radical news in review



View of the massive abortion rights rally at the Washington Monument.

Photo by Mikell Zhan.

Report on the April N.O.W. March in D.C. Telling a system I don't believe in that I won't bleed to death

by Melen Lunn

I went to the abortion rights march on Washington in April aware of the contradiction between being an anarchist and making a demand on the government. I felt compelled to do something to protect myself and others immediately. Aside from my own possible suffering, I experience daily in my work with disturbed children the pain unwanted young people suffer. I went to help interrupt the process that creates this.

I was excited to tears to make public something important to me and to be part of a social organization that swelled beyond the Washington Capitol mall. Hoisting each other to perches on top of trucks and lampposts was great fun. Encountering folks from the rest of the country and the world refreshed me. The whole experience freed me from routine thoughts. Though I rarely think of revenge, especially directly at political figures, I imagined us (there were more than the 300,000 reported in the media) as fingers of a giant fist pushing up Bush's ass.

Joining with children, teenagers, babies, fathers, daughters, sons and grandparents made me feel very whole, and relieved the bitterness I feel about the abuse in my family. I was heartened by the presence of so many men, though I'd imagined women marching separately from men. Few marchers shared this vision. The exceptions were some women of color who marched holding bouquets of richly-colored balloons—black, gold, red, brown. They inspired us with gospel and call-and-response songs that included abortion-rights lyrics.

I wondered if these women, like myself and some black women I know in San Francisco, were offended by the National Organization for Women's (N.O.W.'s) call for women to wear white to the march, in memory of the suffragettes. Hardly anyone but the N.O.W. marshals complied, which made it easier to spot them and therefore anticipate their intrusive "traffic directions."

N.O.W.'s attempts to control people in order to keep the march organized by delegations (of states, countries, colleges, etc.) failed because of people's persistent individuality—and fear of being suffocated or crushed—but also because of a counter-demonstration of anti-abortion rights activists who initially tried to march against the direction of our tide. Apparently, anti-choice folks also laid down in the street, were carried off, and were arrested.

I wondered later how many pro-choice demonstrators took for granted the police involvement in this problem, perhaps thinking "now it's their turn." My ideal was to avoid any allegiance to the cops, which would have required a level of responsibility that I believe most people do not consider.

I had not been able to see the anti-abortion rights people as they tried to

march against us, but those few who remained to line our route were mostly men. Is this true of their movement in general? I was told by two women who work at abortion clinics that the anti-abortion demonstrators who show up there are usually men. If there are as many women in the movement, they seem to play a back-seat role. We read about women passionately opposed to abortion; it would be too facile to assume that the anti-choice movement is predominantly male.

The day before the march, anti-choice folks placed 4,400 crosses next to the Capitol building to commemorate the 4,400 abortions performed each day in the U.S. Bush must have given them the nod for this gesture. Along our route they held up photographs of fetuses and signs accusing us of murder and Nazism. Only a thin line of scattered cops separated us from these accusers. With such poor protection, and since I didn't want to involve cops, I wished I'd reviewed my self-defense skills and brought mace. Our proximity made us quite vulnerable to any fanatic who might wish to dart past a cop to attack us.

Some people in the march shouted in



Photo by Mikell Zhan.

disgust at the anti-abortion rights activities. My feelings were mixed. I resented them but knew it took courage for them to assert their minority position next to an overwhelming crowd. I could also understand how disturbing our numbers must have been for those who sincerely believe abortion is murder. I faced this minority as a member of the majority, realizing that such a political experience was an anomaly for me! So much for democracy.

My favorite moments:

Chanting with many others "Not the church, not the state, we women will decide our fate!"

Dancing while waiting to pee at the port-a-toilet, and imagining what we could do with all the urine we brought to D.C.

Meeting other anarchists and planning to connect this July at the anarchist conference in San Francisco.

Happening on a group of punk-looking and anarchist folks dancing around an effigy of a judge. Two men linked arms as they skipped while others sang about "sex without babies."

Meeting folks from A.C.T. U.P. (Aids Coalition To Unleash Power) who do direct action to bring attention to the needs of AIDS sufferers. A few months ago they blocked morning commuter traffic on the Golden Gate bridge in San Francisco.

Not wanting to worship the organization leaders, movie stars and politicians who'd been invited to the pulpit at the culmination of the march, I cut loose with my pal. Walking amidst the sterile cityscape of business and government buildings that is D.C., we discovered four black boys by a corner, beating African rhythms on barrels. My heart responded but my body begged for rest, so I withdrew with my friend to a restaurant to reflect.

If abortion becomes illegal again, at least in some states, will more doctors risk their licenses to perform the procedure? I'd like to see some interviews with doctors. How will we create the anarchistic society we want? We need survival and a new way of living; to struggle for both can be contradictory as well as harmonious. I want fresh hope, love and rage to swell in us all so that our dreams will spread like seeds across this barren society.

Labrador natives occupy NATO bombing range

Since 1979 the Innu people of Labrador, Canada have protested the increasing militarization of their territory, which they call *Ntesinan*. This protest has grown to a campaign of nonviolent resistance in recent months, with the arrest of more than 100 Innu on at least eight occasions since September 11. Families have camped in the bombing range near Goose Bay, and children, women and men have had to be carried from the camps established on a runway of the Goose Bay Air Force Base.

The Innu have never ceded territory to Canada by treaty. By the late 1970s, large tracts of *Ntesinan* had already been disrupted by hydroelectric dams, mining, and logging. Low level test flights of tactical fighters and nuclear-capable bombers began in 1979, increasing to 7,000 flights per year by 1987.

Caribou and other game were driven from the traditional hunting grounds of this tribe of 10,000. The announced intention of the Canadian government to designate more huge tracts of land for a NATO Tactical Fighter Weapons Training Center triggered the escalated protests. The new base would rival Nevada's Nellis Air Force Base with up to 40,000 test flights per year.

Letters of support and donations for legal defense can be sent to the Innu Band Council, POB 160, Sheshatshit, Labrador, Canada A0P 1M0.

Excerpted from: *The Nuclear Resister* (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733).

Radical news in review

The recognition by the Polish government of the need to talk to Solidarity may be not unconnected to the development of Solidarity into something other than a national movement, and the concomitant gap which has been opened up between the leadership and the "membership." Following global trends, the "market" is back in fashion, and not just among small circles of neo-liberal dissidents. In 1981 Solidarity's economic and social proposals put workers' self-management near the center of its demands; in April 1987 "The position of the Solidarnosc union on the situation and avenues of transforming the Polish economy" stated:

"We demand a deep-going reform, one that will introduce equality of all sectors of ownership and reject dogmas; a reform that will limit the role and function of the state in the economy, giving the fundamental role to market mechanisms; a reform that will achieve a decisive democratization of economic life and which through the growth of self-management and stock ownership by workers, will aid the process of the socialization of economic life...."

About which, one of the main authors of the 1981 program has observed:

"The main impression you cannot help getting after reading the 'Theses on the Second Stage of the Reform' presented by the government, and the 'Position of the Solidarnosc union....' is one of a very clear coming together of the conceptions of both parties. This concerns above all the establishment of market mechanisms in the economy.... A certain meeting of ideas has taken place on the question of workers' self-management."

In the government's 'Theses' you no longer find generous—even general—statements about this similar to those contained in the 'Orientations of the Reform' in 1981. The present document reveals the strategy of a slow retreat, the disappearance of certain elements of self-managing controls. Solidarnosc, for its part, has taken a much less determined stand on self-management than in the resolution of its Congress...."

—Ryszard Bugaj,
Tygodnik Mazowsze,
(underground journal) May 20, 1987

Market mechanisms are becoming for the Soviet Bloc today the panacea for its social and economic ills. For Mikhail Gorbachev the problem with his society is that it has 'violated the organic' connection between the measure of labor and the means of consumption' and he bases his reform on:

"...dramatically increased independence of enterprise and associations, their transition to full self-accounting and self-financing, and granting all appropriate rights to work collectives. They will now be fully responsible for efficient management and end results. A collective's profits will be directly proportionate to its efficiency."

—Mikhail Gorbachev,
Perestroika

Together with surreptitious assaults on political liberties (increase in the 'rights' of the militia to enter and search private homes, decrees against organizers of unofficial demonstrations (July 29) the reform program of the Soviet ruling class bears a remarkable resemblance to the deregulative initiative of the 'Economic Movement.'

This belated acceptance of the disciplinary potential of the market by Eastern bloc leaders has opened up considerable division within the opposition, no more clearly visible than in Poland.

For many, amongst the leadership of Solidarity the "free market" has become the only solution:

"It has proved simply impossible to patch up the system, and what is more, the Polish crisis is not a specifically Polish

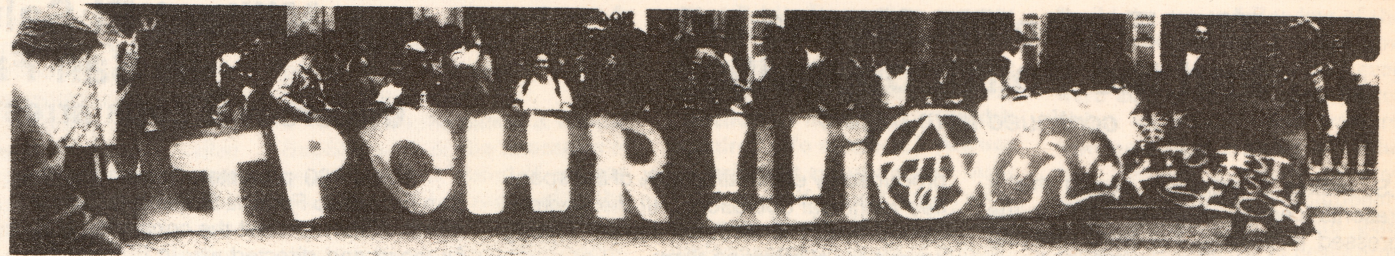


Photo reprinted from Brand (Box 150 15, 104 65 Stockholm, Sweden).

The Economic Movement and the Polish opposition

by John Barrett

Debates within the Polish opposition reveal that the "triumph of capitalism" hailed by Western pundits is neither unchallenged nor inevitable.

one. That is, it is not due to any particular corruption of the Polish regime or any particular revolt of the Polish people, but it is a general crisis of this type of system. The arrival on the scene of Gorbachev in a way testifies to this. Discussions about some hypothetical ideal system do not interest me. It is clear that the socialism that exists, that 'actually exists' as they love to repeat, is a system that leads to a total impasse. And we have no other alternative model to that of the market; no one has dreamed up any others."

—Jan Litynski (member Warsaw
Regional Executive Commission),
Across Frontiers

This places the leadership in conflict with its own members who have been fighting the effects of economic policy, whether traditional state management or "new" market initiatives, throughout the last seven years.

The origin of this conflict lies in the gap which opened up between a leadership confined by circumstances to theorize about Poland's national destiny and a working class civil society forever coming up against the reality of social and economic crisis. While Solidarity's call for a boycott of the new unions and the self-management commissions in 1982 might have convinced its ideologues that struggle had been suspended for the duration, in actual fact people in the factory did not give up, and didn't search for new compromises. Instead they used the self-management commissions to maintain a modicum of dignity and organization at work. It is necessary to go into what happened here in some detail, because it shows how the differences arose between the workers and the Solidarity leadership. By calling for a boycott Solidarity was performing a political role, it was challenging the structures of the government, trying to prove to it who had the more authority. This ignored the social basis of Solidarity, which was that in the factory, it was a union, an organization committed to defend workers on the small and insignificant level as well as the national and political, and in the "streets" it was a civil society with all the conflicts of interest that implies. When Solidarity called for a boycott, the conditions which created the discontent that made Solidarity did not go away, nor did the impulse to try to do something about them.

Self-management commissions were legalized in December 1982. At first they performed the traditional Leninist function as transmission belts of Party diktat, but increasingly workers began to use them in pursuance of improvement of conditions. In Wrocław by 1985 30 commissions existed with activist involvement, and links were made between factories. In Warsaw individuals on self-management commissions began to meet in a Catholic club to exchange experiences. Whereas initially

the commissions were concerned with basic factory matters (repairs to toilets, etc.) they began later to extend their concerns. Protests were made about workers who had been sacked, and resolutions were made about the "social foundation" (a levy from workers' pay which was supposed to go towards social initiatives). The commissions argued that money should go to the families of political prisoners and designated their own social projects for financing. At the Polar works in Wrocław the self-management commission became entirely composed of activists who passed on knowledge to other factories. Last summer 10 workers attempted to register their commission as a union called Solidarity. The attempt failed but the 6 months it took the court to arrive at a decision gave ample opportunity for people to get to know the organization. At the PONAR mechanical instruments factory in Ostrzeszów, activists took control first of the self-management commission, then the factory circle of the Democratic Party (a Stalinist front designed to represent the petty bourgeoisie), and finally the "new" official trade union. In the spring of 1987 this official union called a strike and won the promise of a 7,000 zloty increase for everyone.

While National Solidarity had mutated from a position of abstention to one of participation, part of its "membership" or constituency had developed from a position of participation in the self-management commissions to one of combativity, or at least had preserved the potential to be so. National Solidarity had spent some time in internment camps, and had necessarily lost touch with the factories. Coupled with a fear of invasion and/or total economic breakdown, a real separation had opened up between the workers and the National leadership of Solidarity.

"The pattern of activity of the opposition often comes down to a group of 'armchair politicians' meeting and producing a thick and high-priced journal. They write about Jaruzelski, about Reagan, about geopolitics and the 'premises of conceptual reflection' about 'neo-conservatism' in the U.S.A. and so on and so on. And then they say, 'Walenty, go distribute that in your factory.'"

Few people still take an interest in the work of the underground trade-union commissions, in ways of helping the activists who, fighting against their own fatigue and the passivity of the workers, are continuing Solidarnosc activity in the factories.... Are we really incapable of developing new forms of activity in the factories? In our opinion, we are not! We can and we must do so. And the key to that is to get it into our heads that what is important is not personal battles for a seat in the leadership but the strength and effectiveness of the factory organizations."

—A.G. Rawicki,
Robotnik

National Solidarity sees itself as a savior of the nation rather than a workers' organization. Hence it is increasingly seduced by the desire to formulate prescriptions for the cure of the sick Polish nation. The statement below, comes not from a cabal of Friedmanite economists ensconced within the Party apparatus but from Solidarity ideologues:

"An economic miracle in Poland involves not only structurally changing the economy and releasing human energy, but also budget cuts, the creation of a capital market and the elimination of money in excess of what there is to be bought on the market. It is necessary to envisage a drop in the standard of living of many social groups and even localized unemployment."

—Lawina, Poleski, Zalewski,
Tygodnik Mazowsze
(underground journal) 1986

The Solidarity leadership has taken upon itself the burden of national unity, and hence begins to act more and more like a state. Instead of seeing that Solidarity was many things: a union, a social movement for political liberty and a civil society in itself, full of arguments and differences, the "old" generation of Solidarity activists have succumbed to the myth of an identity of interest within the nation for the nation, and on that assumption seem to be ready to dish out sacrifices for the price of "establishing honest dialogue between the authorities and society" (Letter of Lech Walesa to the U.S. Congress). The choice of market mechanisms as the replacement for the state as the determinant of rationing betrays either a loss of memory in the origins of Solidarity or a loss of faith in the people who began that movement, for there is still an untried option, the extension of direct democracy and self-management.

Opposition to the current line comes from many quarters. Kornel Morawiecki of Fighting Solidarity Organization (now smuggled back into Poland after his enforced exile) has said:

"I do not agree with the thesis advocated by Lech Walesa and Jacek Kuron, among others, that now is not the time to put forward wage demands, that it is necessary to tighten our belts. Poverty is growing and people are working harder and harder, up to 12 hours a day. It's better to clench our fists than tighten our belts."

While others find the notion of the "lesser evil" of participation somewhat empty:

"In fact on this question precisely the obliging economists have slipped us the notion that the evil—that is, the impoverishment of people—is protecting against a still greater evil, the collapse of the economy. And we had begun to forget that this economy was supposed to be for people; we had forgotten what was said clearly in August 1980. Confrontation was imposed on us. The discussion is continuing around the question of how to transform a situation of confrontation into one of compromise. The problem is that compromise can only be the result of confrontation, it cannot replace it."

—Jerzy Krzewina
(KOS journalist)

The formation of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) is also evidence of a growing disenchantment with the false universalism of a Solidarity leadership which claims to speak for everyone. In fact the

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Radical news in review

The Economic Movement and the Polish opposition

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P.P.S. makes a point of saying that it represents certain interests, namely the oppressed in society. Far from worrying about breaking ranks the P.P.S. believes the fragmentation of the opposition to be a good thing:

"In the Polish opposition, there is a general problem. In my opinion, it can be summed up as the need for a pluralist opposition. Seven years ago, Solidarnosc represented both a platform of national identity, a union in the classical sense of the term, and a fight for a free market. Various movements existed within Solidarnosc. It was a social movement that proved to be an excellent means of struggle against totalitarianism. Over these seven years, the lay of the land, however, has changed. We are witnessing an evaluation of this system—I don't know whether you can still call this a reform, but the system is changing nonetheless. This is why the form of unity characteristic of Solidarnosc seven years ago is finished, why it no longer serves much purpose.

We are witnessing a very clear emergence of systematic contraposition between two opposite poles. On the one hand, we have Marcin Krol and his magazine Res Publica and the economic societies, which are trying to organize and agitate for a classical free-market economy. On the other hand on the left, we have the formation of the Polish Socialist Party. We are in a period of diversification of the opposition."

—Josef Pinior (Regional Treasurer, Lower Silesian Solidarnosc, recently released from prison for leafletting a factory)

As an aside, it should also be observed for the benefit of the cohorts of Leninists currently courting the P.P.S., that its commitment to the oppressed does not commit it to universalistic theories with the oppressed as historical revolutionary subject. The challenge in Poland today is against those who would iron over the wrinkles and creases in the opposition to present a neat and tidy unity. Walesa's characterization of the struggle as being between "the society" and "the power," so effective in 1980, is now obscuring differences which have to come out, and obstructing the development of an alternative to the market-oriented policies of both state and traditional opposition.

What are the prospects for the Walesa/Jaruzelski talks? I will avoid any particular predictions since the results of the talks will probably be well known before this article is published, but a sense of the deep resistance to the machinations of the authorities is provided by Andrzej Gwaiazda, once vice-president of Solidarity, now a painter, but still an activist. Market-reforms are likely to increase the exploitation of workers on the shop-floor, as we know from our own experience. The resistance to such measures is likely to be highly effective, at least according to the experience of Gwaiazda:

"I have been working in industry for thirty years, and the workers still surprise me by their imagination. Their norms are increased, and despite that they manage to maintain their wages at the same level. I am a worker with a number of skills. I have worked as a lathe-operator, a welder, and now I am a painter. So, I can judge how much time is necessary to make a given product. The norms are such that it seems totally impossible to do the work in the assigned time, but they manage it. Simply they do not respect the technological process. From the outside, the product seems to meet specifications. It even has, if necessary, the indicated dimensions, but this product maintains its use-value ten times less than it should, because it is

produced by eliminating 80% of the specified technical operations. All the workers' inventiveness is directed toward finding means for eliminating them.

The present economic reform will force workers to find more tricks of this sort. On paper productivity will increase, and they will therefore maintain the level of their wages. But the economy will break down still more."

Any apparent victory of the Economic Movement in Poland still faces the un-institutionalized resistance of those who actually do the job. How much this is down to the primitive nature of management and surveillance, and how much to the overall failure of the Polish system to integrate its people is difficult to say. In Poland the use of market mechanisms by the ruling Party has exposed those mechanisms as mere techniques of social control and consumer rationing. Although self-management under state control has proved to be little more than a procedural sleight of hand attempting to extract more labor from the work force, there is no guarantee that it will turn out to be anything more than this under a market economy. The divisions which the Economic Movement has prised apart in the Polish opposition may indicate the beginning of an assessment about economic models which goes beyond the binary polarity of state control versus the "free market," and one which does not simply find the answer lying somewhere between the two. It is my hope that some kind of substantive self-management will be at the heart of this alternative, an alternative towards which a Czech writing after 1968 was also pointing:

"Certain economists think the councils should be a sort of transition between the old and new methods of management, between unskilled political management and skilled non-political, technocratic management. But workers' councils are the expression of a need which intends to lead power over production in a completely different direction, and not to some ideal state where technicians and economists would make decisions with their perfect knowledge of production processes and would deliver us from all worries. Both wish us to enjoy a peace far removed from any worries, where we may benefit from the little pleasures of private life and precisely from nothing else....

All these professionals in the art of government have a deep mistrust of workers' power, and with good reason. If the workers decide to take production into their own hands, it is because they no longer want to be mere components in the process of production. They want to replace the principle of objective management with the subjectivization of production. This is the great challenge to the secular principle of the European mind; it signifies a fundamental reconstruction of society, the annihilation of its tradition of passivity and therefore the destruction of its normal organization; it is revolution in a concrete form, opening the path towards a pluralism entirely different from any we can imagine today. It can no longer even be called democracy, or government of the people, because it is no longer a government; there is no one left to govern anymore."

—Jindrich Chalupceky,

"All Power to the Workers' Councils," published in *Listy* (Feb. 1969)

(Most of the quotations in this essay were obtained from the *Newsletter of International Labour Studies* (35/6), except where otherwise stated. Information on self-management commissions comes from discussions with Andrzej, a worker in Wrocław Polar works, and Taddeus, a worker at Polish Fiat, Warsaw.)

This essay was reprinted from *Here and Now* #7/8 (POB 109, Leeds, LS5 3AA, West Yorkshire, U.K.)

Militant El Salvador protest in San Francisco

Undercover cops arrest 20 on felony charges

About 700 protesters blockaded the San Francisco Federal Building at 7am on March 20th to protest the continuing U.S.-financed and directed war in El Salvador. About 50 people did the old sit-down-in-front-of-the-police action and waited to be arrested. Others tried more innovative tactics like blocking doors while standing up and linking arms but not letting the police arrest them. People brought plastic fencing to stretch across entrances, made spray-paint stencils and splattered lots of paint balloons on the building and cops.

One group of about 30 protesters brought helmets, shields, padding under their clothes, and an attitude of urgency, militancy and proper disrespect for the law. In a now well-publicized skirmish, some of these protesters initiated a takeover of an intersection, lit body bags on fire (symbolic of the death squads in El Salvador), and knocked over a police motorcycle.

The last action proved to be foolish because about ten undercover cops were standing nearby just waiting for an opportunity to pounce on those who had come prepared to turn up the heat on the war machine. Undercover police tackled a few people to the ground, clubbed and maced them, and squished their faces into the street. A few people who tried to unarrest their comrades were also tackled and arrested. The undercovers maced people at random until the uniformed cops could move in with their clubs.

Shortly after that, the police found the need to reassert their power over the demonstration. A line of undercovers synchronized with a line of uniformed cops and formed a wedge to encircle a large chunk of protesters. The police were simply trying to instill a little collective fear in the group. They started pulling people out of the crowd seemingly at random, making everyone wonder if they were next.

Such police tactics are not new. During the People's Park uprising 20 years ago, police made a mass arrest of 450 people and after taking them to Santa Rita, made everyone lay face down on the cement, then selected individuals for random beatings while the others looked on. They try to discourage the power we have when we come together.

As the right wing takes power in El Salvador and the leftist guerrillas escalate



Sean Elliot

the struggle there, some activists are calling for intensified resistance here. This was evident in the planning for the Federal Building action as even the more established groups like the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (C.I.S.P.E.S.) were supportive of low-intensity hell-raising.

The anarchist-inclined group with helmets made a very strong presence and added a degree of fluidity to the demonstration by moving from entrance to entrance. Even when their roaming havoc wasn't very effective, they were tying up a good portion of the 275 uniformed and 60 undercover cops who were there protecting U.S. interests in El Salvador.

The wide spectrum of protest tactics makes it harder for the police to control demonstrators and creates a space for a lot of different people to get involved at many different levels of action. If we could now only start broadening the issues in a similar manner, we could make protesting more meaningful for more people and start shaking this oppressive international order at its roots.

—Sandina Sadona

Reprinted from *Slingshot* Vol.1, #24/April 3, '89 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720).



Canadian anti-Shell actions

In August 1988 a Vancouver, British Columbia group calling itself Shell Busters spray-painted 21 Shell gas stations—an early morning action that left fuel pumps, signs and company trucks covered in anti-Shell/anti-apartheid messages. After the action the group proceeded to send a communique to the press explaining Shell Canada's involvement in the South African apartheid economy. Shell Canada's parent company, Royal Dutch Shell, is being attacked internationally for this same reason.

In December, there was another weekend of activity against Shell. It started off on a Friday night with an informal demonstration which took place at a gas station. People held up signs and attempted to block traffic from entering. This included parking a couple of cars next to the fuel pumps to slow down business even more. Tow trucks were called to remove them, but demonstrators jumped into the cars and drove away without being ticketed or caught. Later that night about six Shell stations were spray-painted and their locks super-glued. This was reported the next day at a public demonstration that made its way through crowds of shoppers to the Shell corporate headquarters.

Source: No Picnic Spring '89 (POB 69393 Stn.K, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W6, Canada)

Berkeley riot follows People's Park parade

A recent parade in Berkeley, California, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the death of James Rector—shot to death by police as he watched the People's Park riot of 1969, turned into a riot. Berkeley Police Dept. spokesman David Anderson said 15 policemen and two firemen were injured, though none seriously, as about 2,000 people celebrated an evening of looting and destruction.

Before a force of about 75 cops were able to regain control of the five-block riot area, Waldenbooks, The Gap—a clothing store, and other stores were trashed and looted. Seven people were arrested and five juveniles were cited. A fire department car was overturned and burned.

According to the *San Francisco Examiner* the most serious confrontation occurred at a bonfire that was set at the corner of Telegraph Ave. and Dwight Way. When firemen were sent in to extinguish it, the crowd tried to wrest hoses from their hands, knocking out three of the intersection's four traffic lights. This is where the car was overturned and burned and the first arrests took place.

"Police set the tone," said Mike Delacour, a People's Park activist. "They had to make a show of force. They had to use muscle. They had to put out our little fire, but they don't put out the big bonfires up on fraternity row."

Alternative media review

Alternative Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

THE NEW CATALYST #13/ Winter '88-9 & #14/Spring '89 (POB 99, Lillooet, B.C. V0K 1V0, Canada) claims to be "Western Canada's only rural-based review of art and opinion covering key issues and ideas of the '80s." Covering environmental, ecological and native issues from a largely "bioregionalist" perspective, issue #13 is titled "How Wild is the West." It includes "Domesticating the wild; Salmon-farming on the west coast" by Claire Heffernan, "The B.C. wolf-kill conspiracy" by David Garrick & Chris Plant, an essay reprinted from *The Logging and Sawmilling Journal* called "Loggerheads over land use: Organizing against environmentalists" by Ronald Arnold, and an interview with Freeman House on "Restoring your local watershed." Issue #14 focusses on "Mexico: The tail of the turtle" (of "Turtle Island"/North America). It features a piece on "The return of the great Gray Whale" by Chris Plant, a quick overview of the "new movements" in Mexico by Alberto Buenfil entitled "The 'Sleeping Woman' Awakes," Virginia Navarro's "Re-membering the goddess: Ecofeminism in Mexico," Arturo Contreras' "Utopias amid conquest: An ecological history of Mexico" (which conspicuously neglects to mention the anarchist-influenced peasant revolutionaries of the Mexican Revolution), and John Dillon's "Canada, Mexico and 'free' trade." Also included are an interview with Earth First!er Dave Foreman, a somewhat interesting review of "Alternative print in Mexico" by Bill Weinberg, and lots of regional news on Vancouver development and resistance. Subscriptions are \$10/year (4 issues).

UTNE READER #33/May-June '89 (Subscriber Services, POB 1974, Marion, OH. 43306-2074) is still subtitled "The best of the alternative press," though a more modest subtitle would certainly reflect the reality of its selections more honestly. This issue features a collection of pieces on housing and the "housing crisis," with other notable pieces on "Civil liberties imperiled under Thatcher," "Frances Moore Lappé's diet for a better world" (from the "alternative" *San Francisco Examiner Chronicle*), and "The fate of the earth depends on the fate of the trees." Also notable is executive editor Jay Walljasper's unconvincing apologia (under the title of "Is there any hope for the mainstream press?") for *Utne's* frequent inclusion of articles from the mainstream media (like *The Washington Post*) under the banner of the "alternative press." Subscriptions are \$18/year (6 issues).

GNOSIS #11/Spring '89 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114-0217) is a 64-page "journal of the western inner traditions." This issue focusses on ritual, including a wholly unconvincing explanation of "Why ritual works" by Richard Smoley, "Confessions of a closet ritualist" by Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf, John Davis' "Wilderness rites of passage" (in which one almost expects to see a "new age" fee schedule for "Sacred Mountain" guided tours—Davis is a self-professed "wilderness rite guide," working with Earth Rites, Inc.), a description of "the whirling dervishes of Konya," and the most entertaining article of the issue, "The diamond way; baseball as an esoteric ritual." Also of note is a celebration of the Christian mass as a gnostic ritual, and an interview with cosmic egotist Colin Wilson. Subscriptions are \$15/year (4 issues).

THE ANIMALS' AGENDA Vol.IX, #2/-Feb., #3/Mar., #4/April, & #5/May '89 (POB 6809, Syracuse, NY. 13217) is a slick, advertising-laden monthly which now characterizes itself as "The international magazine of animal rights & ecology." The February issue features an interview with "Sue Coe: Rebel with many causes" and

David Greanville's column "Turning inward; The promise of the steady-state economy." The March issue features a story on "Dolphins in captivity: Wasted lives, wasted minds," and an article on "Animals on the pill" by Jay Kirkpatrick. The April issue includes a long section on "Christianity and the rights of creation: A Conversation with Andrew Linzey" by Kim Bartlett. And the May issue deals with one of the contradictions often left ignored by animal "rightists" in an article on "Varmints: Animals, by any other names," also including articles on the "Feral cats" problem and the slaughter of African elephants. In addition this issue includes a nicely done article by Neal Barnard on "Longer life expectancy: Who gets the credit," which debunks the claims that animal experimentation has led to increased human longevity. Subscriptions are now \$22/year (12 issues).

ALSO RECEIVED:

Kill For Peace Again, Questionable Cartoons, & In Media's Feces—all undated—(c/o Vanity Press, 160 Sixth Ave., NYC, NY.10013) all appear to be a one-shot editions consisting mostly of Tuli Kupferberg's comic, with a few other graphics, poems, song lyrics and other miscellany thrown in. Samples are \$1.00.

Torch/La Antorcha Vol.16, #1/Jan.15, #2/Feb.15, & #3/Mar.15, '89 (R.S.L. POB 1288, NYC, NY. 10116) is the newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, which claims to "bring a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian point of view to discussions of current events, analysis and strategy, and provide a forum for all those sharing this libertarian vision." Issue #1 features a rather crude call to "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan!" as its cover story, an article covering a rally of United Auto Worker dissidents, an announcement for the upcoming San Francisco anarchist gathering, and an interesting translation of the "Manifesto of the Libertarian Socialist Organization of Switzerland." Issue #2 features a nicely done article reprinted from *Dialogue* entitled "Notes from a banana republic" by Kalamu Ya Salaam (on life in New Orleans), and the second part of "One year of the Intifada; Rethinking our approach to Palestine" by Chris Hudson. Issue #3 includes coverage of the crane occupation at the Northwest Animal Facility in an effort to stop construction of this biological warfare lab, an article on a march against the recent attempt at holding an "Aryan Woodstock" in California, and a special "News from the Soviet bloc" section put together by the *On Gogol Boulevard* group. Subscriptions are \$4.00/year (9 issues).

MSRRT Newsletter Vol.2, #2/March, #3/April & #4/May '89 (c/o Chris Dodge/Jane DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN. 55407) is a publication of the Minnesota Social Responsibilities Round Table listing local events and including short reviews of periodicals received. Send a \$4.45 SASE for a copy.

Free Press Network Vol.8, #1/Winter '89 (c/o Free Press Association, POB 15548, Columbus, OH. 43215) is a quarterly publication for "reporters, editors, publishers, broadcasters and free-lance writers committed to 'questioning authority' from a human-rights perspective." As this statement indicates, the point of view is somewhat civil libertarian, with no more than a superficial "questioning" of authority encouraged—i.e. the existence and legitimacy of authority *per se* is never questioned. This issue includes information on the association's 1988 Free Media, Free Minds Conference, focussing especially on its debate over the "tough question" of whether or not tobacco ads should be banned! Subscriptions are included with membership in the association at \$20-25/year (4 issues).

Echomedia London Jan.'89 (c/o Ekomedia, 121 Railton Road, London SE 24, England) is a small 8pp. compilation of news shorts. This issue includes news on the I.R.A., the Black Liberation Front, the Animal Liberation Front and Welsh nationalists. Send a contribution for a copy.

Dialogue #78/Oct.-Nov.'88, #79/Winter holidays, & #80/March '89 (c/o Brad Ott, 916 Euterpe St., New Orleans, LA. 70130) is a fairly regularly produced and nicely done little "Alternative Monthly Newsjournal." Issue #78 features "Notes from a banana republic" by Kalamu ya Salaam. The March issue includes local news shorts, an eye-opening "Police Beat" column, an alternative events calendar, news on the sentencing of Greg Boertje for a Plovers anti-nuclear action, and news on the Marion, Illinois prison lockdown. Subscriptions are \$5/year (12 issues).

Decentralize! #11/Jan-March '89 (POB 1608, Washington, DC. 20013) is a small, 6-page newsletter of "Non-violent Radical Decentralist Strategy." This issue includes "True confessions time" (in which the editor confesses she is bored with the newsletter), criticisms of "Left Green" criticisms, and apologies for right-wing "libertarianism." Subscriptions are \$4/year (4 issues).

The Marionette #41/Prison News Service

#17/Jan-Feb.'89 (Bulldozer, POB 5052, Stn.A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4 Canada) is a combined publication including the latest news on the U.S. Federal Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois (infamous for its ongoing 6-year "lockdown" and the prevalence of political prisoners singled out for incarceration there), and news and comment on the prison scene in general. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

The Connection #157/April 3, '89 (Erwin S. Strauss, Box 3343, Fairfax, VA. 22038) is a 112-page, reduced-type a.p.a. which seems to have a right-wing "libertarian" (Libertarian Party-type) focus, though it isn't limited to this. The miles and miles of tiny print are a bit overwhelming, but those interested in pursuing the wide-ranging thoughts of the participants in this forum will have hours of reading fun. This issue also includes a short reprint of "The System of Illusions and Deception" by Noam Chomsky, and a reprint of the anarchist pamphlet *Turning a Deaf Ear* (itself a reply to an earlier reprinting of Chaz Bufe's atrocious *Listen Anarchist!*). Subscriptions are \$20/year (8 issues).

New Options #56/Feb.27, & #57/Mar.27 '89 (POB 19324, Washington, DC. 20036) continues pushing its mushy new-age politics with issue #56 featuring an article on "Affordable housing: Laying the groundwork," and issue #57 devoted to the "New Age 21" in the U.S. Congress, complete with a 4-page "New Options Inc.'s Voting Index, 100th Congress (1987-88)" insertion added to the usually 8-page newsletter. Subscriptions are \$25/year (11 issues).



Afterbirth #2/undated (POB 392, Decatur, GA. 30031) is a well-produced 28-page magazine "to nourish those with open minds." This issue includes some interesting drawings, photos & graphics, as well as an account of "Squatting in the lower east side," an essay on "Sex and anti-sex" by Kerry Thornley, an article on "Eliminating the curse" concerning herbal birth control and abortifacients, an interview with an Australian named Vivian concerning the anti-monogamous sexual politics of her anarchist affinity group, and a description of life as a prostitute called "I was the one in control." Send a contribution for a sample.

Notes #9/June'88 (495 West 186th St. Apt.5E, NYC, NY. 10033) is an impressively bulky 98-page fanzine with a fairly open and eclectic range of columns, reviews and occasional stories, including fourteen pages of zine reviews and 24 pages of LOC's (letters of comment). This issue includes cover collages by Freddie Baer, and columns by Jeff Grimshaw, Anni Ackner, Nancy Lebovitz & editor Sam Helm. Send \$2 in stamps or cash for a sample.

APAEros #17/March'89 (John & Kathe Burt, 960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, OR. 97333) is an "unedited reader-written forum about sex, erotica and relationships of all kinds: het, lesbian, gay, bi." (It also happens to be my personal favorite APA.) This 32-page issue includes "Ecstatic writings" by Feral Faun, a strange fantasy story called "Malis Avibus" by Glenn Russell, another story titled "Telephone Sex" by Peter Cummings, "Alone" and "A Pussy Speaks" by M.R. Bates, "Dirty sex lives" by Dee Snyder, "Love shy" by Bryan Charles, and "Ixion's Tryst" by John. Also included are comments, poetry and short reviews. Send \$2 for a sample and state that you are over 18.

Iron Feathers Journal #2/undated (POB 4035, East Lansing, MI. 48826) focusses on the computer underground, with articles on phone phreaking and hacking. This issue seems to include an unusual number of recipes for various types of explosives—from TNT to napalm. Send \$1 for a sample.

The Axe #1/July-Sept.'86 (c/o GPO Box 12859, Dugbe, Ibadan, Nigeria) is an English-language "quarterly Marxist journal" with a slight libertarian tinge—it criticizes vanguardism, emphasizing the "self-activity" of workers, peasants, women, students, etc. This issue includes "Some perspectives on organization" (arguing against the formation of a "Labour or Workers Party" in Nigeria) by Ahmad Jamal, "Will South Africa herald the dawn of the African revolution?" by Mich Amandla, "Women's liberation freedom now!" by Ada Ugwuata, "Mirror Images Nigeria, Poland and U.S.A." by Ruby Lith. We received 5 xeroxed copies of this journal anonymously mailed with a Providence, RI. postmark, so we're not sure if they're available from the address above,

but you can send a contribution to check it out.

New Indicator Vol.14, #2/Oct.11, #3/Oct.25, #4/Nov.8, #5/Dec.6, '88, #7/Jan.17, #8/Feb.1 & #10/Feb.28 '89 (U.C.-San Diego, B-023, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a leftist student newspaper at the University of California-San Diego. Issue #8 continues documenting the fight of U.C.S.D. student co-ops against administration policies which favor business-oriented services, and includes a feature on the continuing Salvadoran crisis. Send a contribution for a sample.

Alternative Visions Vol.2, #2/Nov.'88 (UCSD Women's Resource Center, B-023, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a quarterly, feminist student tabloid. This issue features "The women's movement: A recent history" by Suzanne Willis. Send a contribution for a sample.

Green Synthesis #30/March '89 (L.E.D., POB 1858, San Pedro, CA. 90733) is a 16-page, "official publication of the Green Committees of Correspondence." This issue features a relatively anarchistic "Youth caucus statement" (which, among other things, rejects capitalism and "the national electoral system"), an article on "Burlington greens fight city hall" by Bob Spivey, Robert Koehler's "Thought police and hooligans: Salman Rushdie, Vaclav Havel, and the future of ideas" (in which he points out the violent potential intrinsic to any "sacred text"), a denunciation of the Green Future organization as a manipulative "cult," an exercise in political double-talk by deep ecology guru Arne Naess (in which, in his attempt at "Finding common ground," he papers over the differences between conflicting "ecological" visions, never once distancing himself from the more racist, Malthusian, and reactionary of the pronouncements of North American deep ecology ideologues), and another unthinking apologia for deep ecology by Joanna Macy which points the finger of total blame at (the deep ecology Satan) "Murray Bookchin and his disciples [who] have caused vituperation and divisiveness in...the Green movement!" Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (8 issues).

News and Notes from All Over Spring '89 (Box 10491, Oakland, CA. 94610) is the "newsletter of the Society for the Eradication of Television" (now that S.E.T. Free is no longer publishing). This issue recommends short-wave radio as a "substitute" for television! Subscriptions are \$5/10 issues.

Slingshot Vol.1, #22/Spring, #24/April 3 and #25/April 12 '89 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is a radical student newsletter for the University of CA-Berkeley featuring news of the campus left. Notable in #24 are short accounts of the latest Food Not Bombs actions and arrests in San Francisco (for feeding people free food without permits at locations uncomfortable for city government), and news of the "police riot" at the March 20th El Salvador protest in San Francisco. Free/send a donation or SASE for a sample copy.

Daybreak Vol.2, #4/undated (Five Rings Corp., POB 98, Highland, MD. 20777) is a 40-page tabloid "written by contemporary Indians to reflect ancient tribal values in new ways, to transfer knowledge to the future generations." This issue, showing a marked improvement in content, includes an article on "Midwife traditions" by Katsi Cook, "Tribute to the runners" (on the Jim Thorpe Longest Run II from the Onondaga Nation—near Syracuse, NY.—to Honorobe, Japan) by Wade Printup, "The Sioux look to the earth" (on the poverty and agricultural problems of the Dakota Sioux, which may be helped by using a new drip irrigation system), and "Pollution and prophesy: An ecomyopia special report" by Rick Hill & John Mohawk. Subscriptions are \$12/year (4 issues).

Air Waves #12/undated (KHDH, 3504 Magnolia, St. Louis, Mo. 63118) is the newsletter/program guide for KHDH-FM (88.1 MHz), the new 42,000 watt "community radio station" in St. Louis. This issue features an account of the station's live broadcast of the Souldard Mardi Gras parade and festivities. Successor to the long missed KDNA, KDHX is also owned and operated by the not-for-profit Double Helix Corporation. Subscriptions are included with membership at \$30/year.

Jet Lag #82/May-June, #83/July-Aug.'88, #84/Feb.-Mar.'89 (The Mailman Bldg., 8419 Halls Ferry Rd., St. Louis, MO. 63147) is the music scene 'zine for the St. Louis area. Issue #82 features an interview with Tom Verlaine; #84 includes interviews with Run Westy Run, Pere Ubu and X. And, of course, every issue is packed with record and concert reviews. Subscriptions are \$7.50/year (6 issues).

Southern Libertarian Messenger Vol.XVII, #8/Dec.'88, #9/Jan., #10/Feb., & #11/Mar.'89 (Rt. 10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) is an incoherent collection of clippings, news shorts and ads culled from other publications, leaflets, etc. This right-wing, Christian, & capitalist publication devotes much of its contents to the mis-named "Libertarian" Party. Issue #11 features "Karl Marx's ties with Satan!" Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues?).

Dragonfly Vol.1, #2/Obsidian 1 & #3/Turquoise 1 (c/o 3558 20th St., San Francisco, CA. 94110) is a nicely-done, fairly visually-oriented zine, dated using a lunasolar calendar whose months are named for stones. Issue #2 includes "Flight of ideas" by Johann, "Disengaging from the controlling mechanism: A solstice night's reverie" by H.H. Bliss, and "Some things that happened in San Francisco streets this spring" by Chris. Issue #3 continues with some engaging collage work (my favorite in this issue is entitled "HOPE, the light at the end of his-story,"), and also includes an essay on "Creating automobile resistance" by H.H.Bliss, and "Of Calendars and Kings" by Frater HaLayL. Send a 45¢ SASE for a sample.

The Wrenching Debate Gazette #7/Feb.'89 (Wrench Plaza, 1801 Connecticut Ave. NW, 2nd Floor, Washington, DC. 20009) is a newsletter concerned with "witnessing," protest and civil disobedience in environmental pollution struggles. Send a 45¢ SASE for a sample.

Continued on next page

Alternative media review

Taking the low road to High Weirdness

a review by Bob Black

High Weirdness by Mail by Ivan Stang (Simon & Schuster: New York, 1988) 329pp., \$9.95 paper.

In 18th century England, lunatics were put away in Bedlam, an asylum whose name is now synonymous with crazed chaos. The fashionable set toured Bedlam to enjoy the antics of the inmates. In *High Weirdness by Mail*, the "Rev. Ivan Stang" (Douglass St. Clair Smith) revives this form of entertainment, akin to bear-baiting and bullfighting. In this book he shows off and writes off many of the deviants and dissidents he cultivated or kept tabs on for a decade. Often he won their trust by pretending to be one of them. Now he tries to climb up into celebrity over their not-necessarily-dead bodies, rather like Salvador Dali before him. He has high-powered backing from his corporate publisher, Simon & Schuster. He has laudatory reviews from the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. He just might get away with it.

In *High Weirdness by Mail* one size—small—fits all. There are two categories of thought or action: normal and not-normal. The not-normal are the subject of his book and (except for his cronies) the object of his derision. As a Pinkerton policing the lunatic fringe he reassures the public that he is on his beat and there is nothing to fear. The official Library of Congress classification of his book is "Eccentrics and Eccentricities—Directories—Humor."

High Weirdness by Mail appeals to the reader who thinks he or she is hipper, cooler or better than other people because s/he knows something they don't know, who's joined a clique one step ahead of the next guy or gal, as if that made any difference. It comforts those in traditional social roles (like yuppies, or family men like Stang himself) there's **nothing to fear**, they may treasure their private stash of arcane hipdom and surely that alone elevates them. The normal are better than the abnormal if they know about them, and *HWM* takes care of that.

According to Stang his book is "essentially a collection of snide put-downs of hundreds of well-meaning, sincere people in all walks of extremism." All listings are denigrated except (with few exceptions) Stang's SubGenius collaborators and other people he owes favors to. For instance, Stang dumps on anarchists and leftists mercilessly—except anarcho-Marxist cartoonists Jay Kinney and Paul Mavrides, long-time SubGenius collaborators of his. After mocking anarcho-leftist dogmatism and humorlessness (as well he should) Stang plugs *Labor's Joke Book*, as humorless and ideologically skewed as anything this side of Socialist Realism. Why so? Because editor Paul Buhle, an old-time '60s Leninist, fixed Stang up with his original corporate publisher, McGraw-Hill, who first published Stang's *Book of the SubGenius* (which bombed).

High Weirdness by Mail is 80% condescension, 20% con-job. The book's function is to denature and discredit anything cultural or political that might possibly have some revolutionary clout by losing it amidst countless UFO contactees, white racial nationalists, New Age crystal freaks, televangelist flimflam artists, and monotonous musicians. The anarchists for instance are lost in the righto-leftist shuffle of conspiracy theorists, worked over Freemasons and cattle mutilators. Even I (who know them and don't love them) think the anarchists deserve better than that.

The other 20% is pure circle-jerk. Stang uses *HWM* to peddle his languishing SubGenius joke, but more often than not he doesn't indicate that the nuts he singles out for praise are cronies or business partners of his. (They return the favor, SubGenius honcho Michael Keckhaver adulated *HWM* in *Spectrum* without mentioning he was Stang's confederate in the band "Doktors for 'Bob'"). That's corrupt, but what bothers me more is the reduction of any and every unusual to the status of exhibits in Stang's freak show. They—or rather, **we**—aren't about to be filed away so casually. We are singular and plural, and we are not all for sale. Stang has already sold out.

Alternative press review continued from page 7

The American Rationalist Vol. XXXIII, #5/Jan.-Feb., #6/Mar.-April & Vol. XXXIV, #1/May-June '89 (POB 994, St. Louis, MO. 63188) is a 16-page publication subtitled "The Alternative to Religious Superstition" (according to the editor, Shirley MacLaine is "the most dangerous person in the world today"). Issue #5 includes "The family and the Bible" by Delos McKown and "The ethics of ethics" by Gordon Stein. In #6 the editor mentions an argument of "the French anarchist/atheist Sebastian Faure at the turn of the century." Issue #1 of the new volume includes a few commentaries on Khomeini's condemnation of a Salman Rushdie—one is entitled "The Shriek of Araby." Subscriptions are \$6/year (6 issues).

Anarchists and punks in Mexico

by Bill Weinberg

There are some intellectuals in Mexico (as elsewhere) who feel that decentralist or bioregionalist thought, when taken to its logical conclusion, leads to a kind of anarchism. Such thinkers have their own sporadically-published magazine, *Testimonios*. *Testimonios* was actually initiated in the 1940's by Spanish anarchists who were exiled to Mexico when the fascist General Francisco Franco seized power in Spain. For decades *Testimonios* served as a forum for ideological diatribes by the Spanish exiles in which they tried to interpret the lessons to be drawn from the lost struggle in Spain. Then, with the New

Left explosion of the late 1960s, interest in anarchism was renewed and a younger brand of radicals infused new life into *Testimonios*. They psychedelized the pages, in vivid contrast to the dry style of the publication's Spanish founders. Today, 20 years later, it is extremely influenced by Green and bioregionalist thought, more concerned with ecology, decentralization and community control than with the ideas of violent revolution which characterized "old left" anarchism. A recent issue featured translations of Jeremy Rifkin on the dangers of genetic engineering, Fritjof Capra on "a new vision of reality," and Murray Bookchin on himself. It also featured some pages of underground comix and, from the "old left" quarter, the work of Spanish anarchist exile Jose Peirats and a translation of classical Russian anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin.

A less sophisticated (but possibly more gutsy) brand of anarchism can be found in *ContraViolencia*, a xerox fanzine from Mexico



South Korean students battle riot cops last year. Photo by a Korean comrade.

The Korean anarchists

a review by Toni Otter

A History of Korean Anarchist Movement by Ha Ki-Rak. (Anarchist Publishing Committee, 706-022 Suseungku, Manchon 2 Dong 990-44, Taegu, South Korea, 1986) 185pp. \$4.00 (plus postage).

Ha Ki-Rak is active in the Federation of Anarchists in Korea. He teaches philosophy in Taegu, Korea, and has translated into Korean works of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Guerin, Woodcock, and Voline. His *A History of Korean Anarchist Movement* provides a general overview of Korean history with emphasis on the anarchic currents.

Since I'm fairly ignorant of Korean history, it is difficult for me to critically assess Ha Ki-Rak's comparison of the 1894 Korean Peasant Revolution with the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), or his analysis that the Korean April Revolution (1960) was similar to the French May 1968 movement, but more successful since the Kor-

eans dislodged Lee Seung-Man, while the French could not bring down De Gaulle. The book left me curious to know more about Korean, Chinese, and Japanese anarchist movements.

Ha Ki-Rak has without doubt been deeply engaged in Korean anarchism, yet some of his views puzzle me. He seems to reconcile participation in national government and mass politics with anarchy. For example, in *A History* he approvingly quotes Yu Rim: "I am an anarchist...but not a non-governmentalist...I participated in the provisional Government [1942]...." (p. 122) Ha Ki-Rak does not mention whether there was a split among Korean anarchists when he and others decided to support a coalition of communists, anarchists, and nationalists which would assume political control after U.S. withdrawal from Korea. Why, at this point, should Mr. Ha be described as an anarchist rather than a national liberationist or state socialist?

A History is worth reading, though the English is rough in spots. It leaves one saddened by the suffering endured by Koreans under feudal, Japanese, and U.S. domination, but also inspired by their herstory of resistance.



A banquet scene at the international peace conference hosted by the Federation of Anarchists in Korea last fall. (A C.A.L. delegate attended.) Photo by a comrade.

City's small hardcore punk scene. It features haphazard, erratic layout and graphics that satirize politicians while glorifying spike-haired punks and Mexican revolutionaries like Emiliano Zapata and Flores Magon. The circled "A" symbol of anarchism is everywhere. The spirit of this publication can best be summed up in a translation of one of the punk song lyrics printed within. Apparently the work of a local band called SS-20, this song is called "No Quiero Ir," or "I Don't Want to Go":

I don't want to go to the factory, I don't

want to die there, I don't want to be exploited.

I don't want to go to school, I don't want to die there, I don't want to be deceived.

I don't want to go to church, I don't want salvation, I don't want to be a virgin.

I don't want to go to the army, I don't want to be a robot with orders to kill.

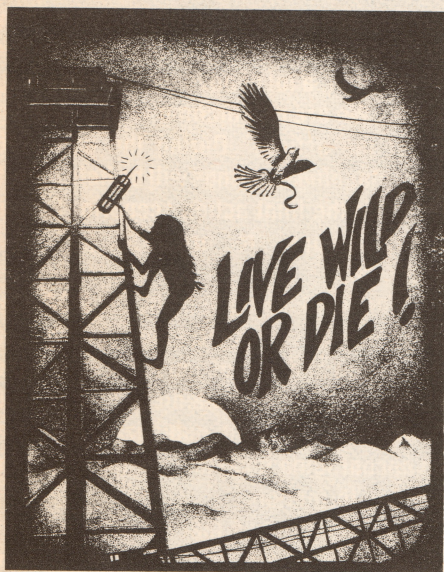
This is an excerpt from an article entitled "Alternative print in Mexico," reprinted with permission from *The New Catalyst* (POB 99, Lillooet, B.C. V0K 1V0, Canada), subscriptions \$10/4 issues.

Alternative media review

Anarchist Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

HERE AND NOW #6/1988 & (double issue) #7-8/1989 (POB 109, Leeds, LS5 3AA, West Yorkshire, England) is one of the more exciting of the recent international publications we've received. Though not self-defined anarchists, the **Here and Now** group seems to operate from a sort of synthetic perspective influenced by anarchists, ultra-leftists, etc. As the introduction to its first issue stated, "We reject hand-me-down politics of any label and insist on the need to understand what is unique to our time." Issue # 6 features "The eclipse and re-emergence of the economic movement" by Alex Richards, "The new liberals" by John Alexander, and a review of Chris Thompson's *Beware the Barmaid's Smile* by Steve Bushell. The 52-page "double issue" (#7/8) includes an obituary for Baudrillard written in response to a talk he gave last November; a critique of the de-institutionalization of the "mentally ill" in the '60s, "The Tyranny of Normalization," by Bedford Fenwick; an essay on self-employment and the situation of the self-employed; a very insightful and important-as well as fairly thorough (15 pages!)-essay on "Language, Truth and Violence" by Frank Dexter; a 16-page "Eastern European Supplement" dealing with (mostly) Poland, along with Romania and Yugoslavia; an examination of the John Stalker affair (concerning an English cop and the concealment of police violence) called "Policing the Truth"; and a rather disappointing examination of "the language of transcendence" by Ian Sampson, called "Sigh for Redemption." Also included are a few interesting book reviews, including Angus McDonald on Stewart Home's *The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettrisme to Class War*, Mike Peters on Guy Debord's *Commentaires sur la Société du Spectacle*, and Alex Richards reviewing a few of the newer books on technology, including John Zerzan and Alice Carnes' *Questioning Technology*. This issue is very well worth a look-I read it from cover to cover. Subscriptions are £3/3 issues. (Checks and money orders should be made to G.P.P.)



LIVE WILD OR DIE #1/undated (POB 411233, San Francisco, CA. 94141) is an exciting new publication produced by dissident and/or ex-Earth Firsters. This ambitious, 36-page, stapled tabloid includes contributions from a variety of viewpoints, from biocentrist to anti-ideological, from moralistic to unrepressible. Contents include a couple of accounts of banner-hanging actions in Denver, John Seed's moralistic review of the last chapter of *Diet for a New America*, "Are we not cows" by Kelpie Willson, "Some thoughts on scamming" by Toby, "Nick it!" by Nickette, an article on hopping freights, an excellent essay on "Biocentrism: ideology against nature" by Mikal Jakubal (reprinted in this issue of **Anarchy**), Feral Faun's well-done "Beyond Earth First!", an essay on how "Native people defend wilderness in B.C." by Mikal, articles on sabotage and tree-spiking, Lone Wolf Circles' "On frag-

mentation and growth," "Live Wild or be pied!!" (on a failed "eco-meringue" pieing attempt) by Chaco, "Toxic Shop Syndrome" (on shopping malls), reprints from the **Fifth Estate** and **Anarchy**, and much, much more. There's no fixed price, but send a contribution for a copy. It's well worth it.

SOCIAL ANARCHISM #13/1987-88 (2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD. 21218), subtitled "A journal of practice and theory," is a 102-page publication which attempts to promote "community self-reliance, direct participation in political decision-making, the stewardship of the earth, and nonviolent paths to peace and justice." With its plain appearance and academic slant-yet including an eclectic mix of contributions from a wide range of authors, it stands somewhat apart from the usual mold of anarchist journals. This issue features Jane Meyerding on tax resistance, and William F. Walker writing on the rather sexually-stilted idea of "The Roundhouse Co-op: a possible alternative to the nuclear family, communal living, and 'free-association' formats." Fully half of this issue consists of reviews, most notably Ruthann Robson's favorable review of Andrea Dworkin's *Intercourse* and Mariana Valverde's *Sex, Power & Pleasure*, Mark Cohen's review of Joan Bodner's *Taking Charge of Our Lives*, and two reviews of Murray Bookchin's *The Modern Crisis*—one by Alexandra Devon and Ron Hayley (both part of the **Kick It Over** collective), and a more critical and penetrating review by Len Krimerman. Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (4 issues).

FIFTH ESTATE #331/Spring '89 (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) is the second special issue dealing largely with "Deep Ecology" written by George Bradford. Titled "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology; The Ethics of Permanent Crisis and the Permanent Crisis in Ethics," this issue is ostensibly a reply to a letter received from "Miss Ann Thropy," who is a writer for the unofficially official **Earth First!** journal. In fact, though, Bradford uses Miss Ann Thropy's letter as a springboard to flesh out more of his critique of deep ecology, at the same time as he also attempts to justify the ongoing critique of technological society and defense of primitivism that has been developed in the pages of the **Fifth Estate** over the last decade or so. This essay, in conjunction with an earlier special issue entitled "How Deep is Deep Ecology?," is essential reading for anyone concerned with understanding most of the major issues at stake in the current debates over the directions to be taken by radical ecological activists and theorists. Compared with the religious evasiveness of the "Deep Ecologists" and the leftist ideological residues of the social ecologists (not to mention social ecologist Murray Bookchin's occasional talent for a rhetorical overkill which weakens his own often strong writings), Bradford's arguments and prose are almost a model of lucidity and concern for deal with essential issues. Though Bradford fails once again to explain what his repeated calls for "reverence" really mean, and though he does not examine some of his own more questionable assumptions, I highly recommend that anyone interested in the future of radical ecological movements read both of these special issues. Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

KICK IT OVER #23/Spring '89 (POB 5811 Stn A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P2 Canada) includes an article on "food and class" in Toronto by Barbara Carss, an

overview of student organizing in Guatemala, a piece pushing the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) by Ted Dymont, a reprint of the no-nonsense interview of Buenaventura Durutti originally published by the **Toronto Daily Star** in 1936, an *ad hominem* critique of middle-class socialist-feminists by Lilith, and a piece by David Koven "On Hanging In" the anarchist movement. Of special note in this issue (and the most interesting part) are the many letters and replies (8 pages worth!), including long replies from Murray Bookchin and Janet Biehl, and an exchange between Jim Campbell and Ron Hayley. Subscriptions are \$7.50/year (4 issues).

ALSO RECEIVED:

The Monthly Meander March & May '89 (c/o Ed Stamm, POB 1402, Lawrence, KS. 66044) is subtitled the "Newsletter of Evolutionary Anarchists." This two to three-page newsletter includes a review of P.J. O'Rourke's *Holidays in Hell* in the March issue. Send a donation for a copy.

San Diego's Daily Impulse Vol.4, #4/Winter '88-89 (POB 90312, San Diego, CA. 92109) calls itself a "quarterly newsletter of anti-authoritarian culture & politics." This 12-page issue features an interview with Neighborhood Watch (a band), a reprint of an article from **Peacework** called "New England Anarchy," and part 3 of "Defining Fascism." Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

The Seditionist #8/March 17 & #9/April 20, '89 (c/o Incendiary Publications, POB 210095, S.F., CA. 94121-0095) is now a 6 to 8-page newsletter. Issue #8 includes reprints from **Ecomedia**, an article entitled "Fascists in Public Office," a call for an "Anarchist Federation of North America," and a critique of "The neo-individualists" (whose "critique of industrial society is often inspired and sometimes very valuable," but whose "call for the return to primitive tribalism would assuredly sentence millions to death from exposure and starvation"). Issue #9 features a report on the recent Bay Area Anarchist Regional Conference, as well as a letter entitled, "The neo-individualists respond." Subscriptions are \$8.50/year (12 issues).

Our Generation Vol.20, #1/Fall '88 (Suite 444, 3981 boulevard St-Laurent, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada) is a 124-page academic anarchist journal now published twice a year. This issue features Thomas Martin's "Unhinging All Governments: The Defects of Political Representation," a 32-page "Statement of Principles of the Vermont and New Hampshire Greens," Marie Fleming's essay on Elisée Reclus' seduction by science, Karl Hess on "Rights and Reality," and a number of book reviews, including Janet Biehl's review of Starhawk's *Truth or Dare*. Subscriptions are \$25/2 years (4 issues).

Ecomedia Bulletin #43/Jan.10, #44/Jan.24, #45/Feb.7, #46/Feb.21, #47/March 7 & #48/March 21, '89 (POB 915, Stn F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada) is a 4-page, very consistently appearing fortnightly newsletter publishing international news and opinion of interest to anti-authoritarians. Issue #43 features a story on "Chicago's war on the poor" (on a clampdown on public housing residents, ostensibly to reduce gang-related crime and illegal drug commerce); #44 includes coverage of Toronto opposition to the anti-abortionist's "Operation Rescue." Issue #45 includes the latest information (in continuing coverage) on the struggles of the Lubicon Nation Cree in Alberta; #46 focusses on the "Entrapment of Fran Trutt" (an animal "rights" activist who was apparently led into attempting a bombing by paid informers and provocateurs). Issue #47 features a story on the Toronto Hydro strike; #48 features "Brian's steroid nightmare" (on the Canadian Prime Minister's "drug habit"). Subscriptions are \$15/year (24 issues). **Ecomedia** also produces two radio shows in Toronto, "Word of Mouth" on CKLN 88.1 FM and "Desire Armed" on CIUT 89.5 FM.

Pressure #6/undated (POB 6992, Fullerton, CA. 92634) is the final issue of this-entirely hand-lettered-anarchist/punk 'zine. Send a donation for a copy of this last issue.

Vancouver Ecomedia #5/March & #6/May '89 (POB 69601 Stn.K, Vancouver, BC. V5K 4W7, Canada) is now a 4-page tabloid with

news from around the world. Issue #5 includes news on East Vancouver gentrification, the recent general strike in Spain, "The Entrapment of Fran Trutt" (an "animal rights" activist), and the harassment of a Vancouver abortion clinic. Issue #6 includes an article on "Fighting fascism," which uses the slogan "The only good fascist...is a dead one." Subscriptions are \$15/year (12 issues).

The Thought Vol.9, #1/Jan., #2/Feb. & #3/March '89 (c/o The Philosophers Guild, POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is a monthly publication "dedicated to freedom of thought and enlightenment" whose "publisher" and "editor-in-chief", Ronald Tobin, recently suffered "a mental and emotional collapse." Issue #2 includes an interesting exchange concerning copyright laws between Rick Harrison and Ronald Tobin, an extended essay by Tobin on the "Destruction of the Amazon Forest," and a nicely done critique of the institution of public education by Ed Lawrence. Notable in issue #3 is Kenn Wood's "Appeal to reason" (a sustained defense of drug use) and Bob Black's review of R.C. Evans' *The Resurrection of Aristocracy*. Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthese Anarchiste #91/Dec.'88, #92/Janv., #93/Fév., #94/Mars, #95/Avril '89 (25 rue Dumé d'aple-mont, 76600 Le Havre--Routage 205, France) is a 4-page, very regular monthly, French-language "review of synthetic anarchism" (in the style of Voline's anarchist "synthesis") published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

Guangara Libertaria Vol.10, #37/undated (c/o ISHSS, POB 1516 Riverside Station, Miami, FL. 33135) is a 32-page Spanish-language anarchist journal produced by Cuban exiles in the U.S. Send a donation for a copy.



Lomakatsi #4/undated (Box 633, 1377 K Street NW., Washington, DC. 20005) is oriented towards arguing for a more "natural," vegetarian, and ecological way of life. This 28-page issue includes "Remnants of a Conversation" (with Rachel Rosenthal) by Cassandra, a rather inane little morality-play by B. Wardlaw called "South Africa," a rather incomprehensible piece on "Speciesism" by Stephanie Miller, a guilt-ridden piece on "Spiritual materialism and vegetarian renunciation" by Robert Epstein, and an article on "Avant-gardening" by Mark Braunstein. Send a contribution for a sample.

Endless Struggle #9/Winter '89 (c/o Box 6-2869, 1895 Commercial, Vancouver, BC. V5N 4A6, Canada) is a lively 28-page 'zine featuring articles on "Anarchy isn't about voting" by Gord, a reprint of Paul Simons' "Report on the Pentagon action" (from **Black Eye**), some short anarchist press book reviews, and a reprint of news about the anti-I.M.F. (International Monetary Fund) demonstrations in Berlin last fall (from **Ecomedia Bulletin**). Also included are interviews with several bands, "Noise reviews," fanzine reviews, and "political" periodical reviews. Sample copies are \$1.50/Subscription price not given.

Trafik #30-31/Jan.'89 (Peter Peterson, Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330 Mülheim 1, West Germany) is a German-language "international journal of libertarian culture and politics." This issue focusses on "The libertarian spirit in the Surrealist revolution," including pieces on Enrico Baj, Leo Malet, Arturo Schwarz and many others. Subscriptions are 30DM/year(?) (5 issues).

No Picnic Autumn '88 & Spring '89 (POB 69393 Stn.K, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W6, Canada) is a lively new journal featuring news and

Continued on next page

International anarchist news

The anarchist scene

compiled by Lev Chernyi

The '89 Earth First! Round River Rendezvous gathering will be held in "the enchanted Jemez Mountains of New Mexico. Practice personal liberation and the liberation of the Earth with creative civil-disobedience actions to follow. It begins June 18th and will break up for the subsequent actions on the 26th. One of the planned workshops will be "Ecofeminism, Deep Ecology, and Anarchy: Towards an Alliance for Action." A map and directions are available (RRR '89, 2405 Meadow SW, Albuquerque, NM. 87105).

The old ne'er-do-well, Bob Black, has a new book out which he's edited with Adam Parfrey, *Rants and Incendiary Tracts*, subtitled *Voices of Desperate Illumination 1558 to Present*. The book is published by Amok Press (New York [address unavailable]) and Loompanics Unlimited (POB 1197, Pt. Townsend, WA. 98368). Copies are also available from Bob Black (POB 2159, Albany, NY. 12220) at \$9.00 postpaid (outside North America add \$1.00 surface mail or \$4.00 airmail).

The Libertarian Library (Box 24269-W, Denver, CO. 80224) has issued a "10th Anniversary, revised edition" of Stormy Mon's *Imagine Freedom from Governments and Churches*. This bizarre book appears to have been written by some sort of right-wing "libertarian," with an imagination confined to the dreary horizons of capitalist society. One of the more disgusting quotes provided in the publisher's announcement trumpets, "What would a libertarian society look like? It would be a department store of choice. You can get a shirt, tires or insurance from Sears, and the thing that makes them great is Penny's, Wal-Mart, K-Mart and all the other choices we have--competition. That's all liberty is: free choice, no coercion, competition. In areas such as education, communication, transportation, garbage collection, libraries and personal activities that don't harm others."

Black Rose Books (3981 boul. St.-Laurent, Suite 444, Montréal H2W 1Y5, Québec, Canada) has published three new books: reprints of Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, and a new book edited by Yolande Cohen, *Women and Counter-Power*. Write for a catalog.

For some reason we've received notice of the upcoming 2nd National Green Gathering on "Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas" (SPAKAs in Greenspeak) to be held in Eugene, Oregon from June 21st through the 25th. Also billed as "A Conferenc to Create a Green Agenda in the United States," the cost is \$250.00 per person, including food, housing and materials. Yes, you read it right, \$250 each for all you middle and upper class eco-freaks. But "pre-registration is a must." So write now, since "Registration with payment must be received by May 15." Seriously, these folks expect "about 500 people to attend with special guests from around the world." That means they expect about \$125,000 to pass through their hands! So send your checks to The Southern Willamette Green Assembly (2826 Baker Blvd., Eugene, OR. 97403).

Let the walls speak! "In a situation where mass media and all means of spreading information are strictly monopolized by the state, it becomes important to enliven the walls. Especially since the walls in Poland are sad, gray and expressionless. Our cities are dominated by Communist slogans. In order to oppose this we need spray paints in bright colors with which one could write on the walls. Unfortunately this type of equipment is not available in our country. This is why we would be extremely grateful for any kind of contribution in the form of sprays. If you

want to participate in creating anarchist graffiti on Polish walls, then please send us as many cans of spray paint as you can, but no more than 3 containers per parcel. With best regards: Wojciech Lygas, U.L. 3-go MAJA 35, 84-230 Rumia, Woj. Gdanskie, Poland."

The Toronto Autonomy Centre (243 Augusta Street, in the Kensington market area) is now open as a reading room Tuesdays through Saturdays, noon till eight, and is available at no charge for small group meetings of an anarchist/social change nature. The center relies on contributions to stay open, which can be sent c/o *Ecomedia Bulletin* (POB 915 Stn. F, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2N9, Canada).

The Fifth Estate (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) has announced that its highly successful special issue "How Deep is Deep Ecology? A Challenge to Radical Environmentalism" (#327, published in Fall 1987) will soon be republished as a perfect-bound book by Times Change Press. This issue is extremely important and well-worth reading for those who haven't yet seen it.

The Institute for Social Ecology (POB 89, Plainfield, VT. 05667) will celebrate its fifteenth year of operation with its upcoming summer session beginning June 10th and ending August 7th. The Institute will be offering three summer programs on the campus of Goddard College: a four-week "Ecology and Community Program," a 2-week "Design and Sustainable Communities Program," and a ten-day "wilderness" experience "Sense of Self, Sense of Place," as well as the start of its year-long "Social Ecology M.A. Program."

Libertarian Microfiche Publishing (John Zube, 7 Oxley St., Berrima N.S.W., Australia 2577) is a small pamphlet urging the use of microfiche as "the AFFORDABLE publishing ALTERNATIVE. If used by a mere 100 libertarians for a single year, then it could soon lead to the publication of ALL LIBERTARIAN WRITINGS, permanently in print and cheaply available upon demand."

Anarchist press review

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commentary on indigenous, environmental, feminist, and anarchist activities, including reports from Vancouver *Ecomedia*. The Autumn issue includes news of the indigenous Gitksan blockade preventing development in a previously unexploited area of British Columbia, a technical update on tree-spiking, a very worthwhile "critical analysis" of the "Day of Action" demo last summer after the Toronto anarchist gathering, and an interview with Kairn Mladenovic on prostitution and rape. The Spring issue features "Autocracy: The tyranny of cars" by Amigo, an article and interview on "B.C. Prisons: A growth industry," an article on European unification called "United Europe 1992," and "Fish Farming; or How to kill a coast" by Chester H. Subscriptions are \$8/year (4 issues?).

Bulletin of Anarchist Research #15/-Nov.'88 & #16/Feb.'89 (Thomas V. Cahill, Dept. of Politics, University of Lancaster, Lancaster LA1 4YF, England) was started "as a method of communicating relevant information amongst a network of researchers who were doing work about anarchism." Issue #15 includes 18 pages of letters, reviews (most notably, a positive review of Starhawk's *Truth or Dare*), and a section on "Anarchism and Deep Ecology: Documents, comments and short bibliography." Issue #16 continues with more letters, several periodical reviews (including *Here and Now*, *Libertarian Labor Review*, and *Green Perspectives*), an article on "Deep and Social Ecology," and reprints of the tables of contents of numerous other periodicals! Subscriptions are £6/year (6 issues) airmail.

Without Borders

The 1989 continental anarchist gathering

This summer's continental anarchist gathering, "Without Borders," will be held in San Francisco from July 20-25th. This is the fourth annual gathering of the current series--following Chicago's in 1986, Minneapolis' in '87, and Toronto's last summer. The San Francisco organizers are encouraging increased international/intercontinental participation--with participants expected from South America, Asia, and Europe--in a celebration of anarchist culture and community.

The organizers are hoping to help create an experimental environment where we can live and learn--an anarchist city. Call or write: *WITHOUT BORDERS*, 1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA. 94117. (415) 864-4674.

BOA/Bevy of Anarchist-Feminists #2/-Summer'88 (c/o Librairie Alternative, 2033 Boul. St. Laurent, Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3, Canada) is a punky, high-energy, 70-page compilation of diverse poems, graphics, photos, short essays, interviews and letters centering around women's experiences. This issue includes "Prostitute blues" by Renée, "Toward an understanding of prostitution" (from Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes), "I recollect" by Cuba, "As anarchists" by Sharon, "Romantifuckiness," "Women clichéd" by Lorraine Munro, "Abortion, Montréal '86" by Betty Rumped, an interview with Gail Stoddard & Renée Millette on Maison Tanguay, womens' prison, "No jollies with the Wallys/No joys with the boys" by Nicole, "High School graduation night" by Renée, and "Some theoretically practical conjectures" by Deborah Fleming. Send a contribution for a sample.

Maximum RocknRoll #69/Feb.'89 (POB 288, Berkeley, CA. 94701) remains the premier punk scene zine, with 128 pages of letters, columns, interviews, scene reports from around the world, and record, book & zine reviews. This issue also features "Banned; a South African political primer." Subscriptions are \$15/6 months (6 issues).

Aqua #3/Mar.'89 (Bru Dye, POB 1251, Canal St. Station, NYC, NY. 10013) is an enjoyable anarcho-gay, sex-oriented zine. This issue features "Gays and punks" by the New Lavender Panthers, "My bisexuality" by Laure A., "Cruising Nicaragua" by Bob Lubarsky, and "Safer sex for women" by the Women's Caucus of ACT UP/NY. No subscriptions. Send \$1 cash for a sample.

Bayou la Rose #29/Fall'88 (c/o Arthur Miller, 302 N. Jst., Apt.3, Tacoma, WA. 98403) is a quarterly "journal of working class ecological libertarianism and human rights activism." This issue features the story of the editor's legally kidnapped daughter Valeena Marishka, a story on "Worldwide shipyard fights," and an article on "Saint or murderer? Junipero Serra." Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues).

Encuentro July'88 (Comunidad del Sur, Casilla 15229, Montevideo, Uruguay) is a Spanish-language anarchist newsletter concerning social self-management and ecological issues in Uruguay. Send a contribution for a sample.

A New Iron Column Spring'89 (I.M.W.U., POB 3266, El Segundo, CA. 90245-8366) is the zine of the Creative Anarchists Network. This issue features an essay on "Buenaventura Durruti" by Peter Newell reprinted from a Freedom Press pamphlet. Send a 45¢ SASE for a sample copy.

Green Perspectives #15/April'89 (POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) is "a left green publication." This issue features Murray Bookchin's "The population myth: Part II." Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

Interrogations pour la Communaute Humaine April'89 (c.o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France) is a 24-page French-language publication. This issue features a translated reprint of Russell Means "Contre la civilisation" from the *Fifth Estate*, a reprinted translation of "Mots de combat sur le futur de la terre" from *Mother Jones*, and "De l'artisanat à la marchandise" based upon an article in *The Animals' Agenda*. Send a contribution for a sample.

And in addition--reviewed by Toni Otter: **Reality Now** #8 (POB 6326 Stn.A, Toronto, ONT. M5W 1P7 Canada) is now involved with Toronto Anarchist Black Cross and publishes A.B.C. news. This issue is strong on Native News and strategies for radical self-

DAY OF ACTION STATUS REPORT

At the gathering planning meeting in Philadelphia, the controversial issue of whether or not to have a day of action at the gathering was finally resolved. It was decided that a militant day of action at the gathering would be organized by East Bay anarchists, independent of the San Francisco planning group. This action will take place somewhere in the East Bay, on July 24th or 25th.

A DOA committee has been formed in the East Bay and action planning is under way. We believe that in order to pull off an effective direct action, a lot of advance planning is required. We are researching various scenarios for the action. During the gathering, action planning meetings will be held daily to decide on the final action scenario, to form affinity groups, to organize jail solidarity, etc.

Other work being done by the DOA committee includes: researching, getting legal information and organizing legal support for the DOA, organizing medical cadres, fundraising for a bail fund, publicizing the action and encouraging local and continental affinity group formation.

There are things that we need from the continental and international anarchist communities: we need you to send us your concerns, ideas and proposals for the DOA: to bring bail money; to fundraise in your city for the bail fund (which, if we have our shit together, won't need to be used); to publicize the day of action and the gathering in your area; and to try to come to the Bay Area organized into affinity groups and prepared to engage in dynamic, militant, effective action against the state! Write to the DOA committee c/o the Dogtown Anarchy House, 1491 34th St., Oakland, Calif. 94608.

reliance, including the article "No More Cops." Also included is information about M.O.V.E. (Members of M.O.V.E. were attacked May 13, 1985 by the city of Philadelphia, which murdered 6 adults, 5 children, dislocated 250 people and destroyed 61 houses in the process.) Subscriptions are \$9/year (4 issues).

International anarchist news

"Another Heresy" survey results

Last year, following the Toronto anarchist gathering, a group of Chicago anarchists (with support from several other groups and individuals elsewhere) sent out copies of a survey that was entitled "Another Heresy." Mike Gunderloy, publisher of *Factsheet Five*, took on the relatively unrewarding task of compiling the results of this survey and mailing them out on request. Full copies of the results can probably still be obtained from him by sending a 45¢ SASE to: 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY. 12144. The following is a much shortened summary of some of the responses. Unfortunately there simply isn't room in this issue to reprint the entire results. In reading this overly short summary, it should be obvious from the wording of some of the questions, as well as the choices of questions asked, that the group writing up the survey had some of its own axes to grind. And as well it should be kept in mind that many people responding did not stick to the Yes/No format of many of the questions--so for a more complete understanding of the responses, checking out a full copy of the results is a necessity!

Age: Average=33; Range=18 to 56.
Sex: Female=9; Male=25; Other=2;
Pansexual androgyny=1.

Responses from: Individuals=32;
Groups=3.

Upbringing: Upper-middle class=4;
Middle class=13; Comfortable working class=7;
Working class=11; Poor=4.

Background: White=32; Hispanic=1;
Other=1; Mixed=3.

Anarchist? Yes=33; No=4.

Should non-anarchists be allowed to participate in the planning and org. of gatherings? Yes=8; No=27.

Should gatherings consider excluding: Straight Media? Yes=22; No=13 Marxists? Yes=16; No=19.

Should non-anarchists be allowed to attend? Yes=33; No=5.

The main reason for having a gathering is: Anarchists meeting, discussing, planning, organizing=25; An opportunity for non-anarchists to learn more=12; A counter-cultural festival=3; All of the above, equally=7.

How often should a gathering take place? Twice/year=3; Once/year=20; Every 2 years=5; Every 3 years=2; Every 5 years=2; Never=1.

Did you attend? Haymarket '86=19; Minneapolis '87=10; Toronto '88=10.

Choices for time of the gathering: This is hard to summarize, but most choices were somewhere between April & August.

How many days should the gathering last? 0=1; 2=1; 2-3=4; 3=7; 3-4=1; 3-5=1; 4=1; 4-5=5; 4-7=1; 5=2; 7=3; 9=1.

Are you happy with San Francisco as the site of the next gathering? Yes=28; No=8.

Should continental gatherings be held: On East coast? Yes=24; No=3; On West coast? Yes=24; No=3; In the Midwest? Yes=27; No=2; In the South? Yes=24; No=3; In Canada? Yes=21; No=4.

Should we see more: Regional gatherings? Yes=34; No=1; Organizational gatherings? Yes=18; No=9; Issue-oriented gatherings? Yes=26; No=6.

Did you attend an action/demo at: Haymarket '86=16; Minneapolis '87=5; Toronto '88=5.

Should future gatherings have a demo/action? Yes=10; No=22.

Demonstrator-initiated confrontation with the police at the next demo/action is: Very important=1; Unimportant=3; To be avoided if possible=15; A mistake=23.

Arrests at the next demo/action are: Very important=1; Unimportant=3; To be avoided if possible=34.

Should gatherings be considered: A local event with outsiders invited=3; Continental hosted by a local group=30.

Should the host group be allowed to keep extra funds? Yes=7; No=25.

Are you interested in seeing a detailed report concerning extra funds at the last two gatherings? Yes=23; No=14.

Should an effort be made to include as many anarchists as possible in deciding what to do about extra funds? Yes=30; No=4.

Extra funds should be used for: Seed money for next gathering=21; Divided among functioning anarchist groups=8.

Are you: Omnivore=19; Vegetarian=10; Vegan=8.

Should gatherings have a banquet? Yes=24; No=7.

Would you attend a banquet? Yes=31; No=5.

Should the banquet be: Vegan only=6; Vegan and vegetarian=9; All forms of food=21.

Is it anarchistic to make a gathering or banquet: Smoke free? Yes=16; No=20. Alcohol free? Yes=9; No=27. Drug free? Yes=10; No=26. Meat free? Yes=10; No=27.

How long should workshops last? No workshops=1; 1 hour=2; 1½ hours=8; 2 hours=10; 2½ hours=2; 3 hours=8; All day=1.

How many workshops should be scheduled at one time? Less than 3=2; 3 or less=24; 4=4; 5=2; 6=2; 9 or more=1.

How should workshops be selected? By volunteers=18; By host group=6; By survey=23.

Workshop suggestions: Too numerous to list here!

Do you believe in spirits/gods/religion? Yes=13; No=19.

Are you an atheist/agnostic? Yes=24; No=9.

Should spiritualist, religious, or pagan

events be scheduled at an anarchist gathering? Yes=19; No=11.

General comments: "I have trouble with the word 'allowed' and a bit with 'should'."

"We are definitely weird & wacky but not to be ignored!"

"Your biases are too apparent in this survey--get clean of hypocrisy."

"These categories are too restrictive to answer as-is, i.e. question 'How long should workshops last' assumes: (1) workshops, (2) clocked class-like events, (3) workshop implies a teacher/class structure, in my mind, anyways."

"I hope my response helps, not hurts. I also think the more feedback, response, surveys, etc. helps not hurts!"

"This is how we respond to your Q's, but w/o unity. This whole concept is bullshit!"

"Hope this is helpful."

"I had some real problems with this survey. You clearly worded things in loaded way, left limited options to issues which are much wider than that implied by the survey. I am tempted to write an exposé of this survey as a

Ask an anarchist a question &....

To the authors of "Another Heresy"

(There were several lengthy replies to the "Another Heresy" survey which completely left the bounds of the survey's original format. This one was possibly the most interesting.)

Why I cannot take your test. It's depressing getting something like this in the mail. I have an unlisted phone no. in order not to be polled or urged to consume over the phone, but now they're randomly generating phone numbers & the other day I had to curse & hang up on someone, not sure if it was human or robot...& now I discover I'm being tested by anarchists.

I quit school in order not to be tested. I believe (one of the rare opinions I share with the Biblical Jehovah) that censuses are "sinful," that no good ever comes of counting people up & divvying them into categories; that tests are invasive, that the American obsession with testing (such as I.Q.) is a nasty symptom of the kind of social management theory that gave rise to modern prison, factory & school architecture; that the census, the poll & the test are means of control; that people who love to be polled & surveyed are victims of a delusory confidence trick: that the self can somehow be quantitatively defined, that we can know who we are by being tested, that testing will validate our existential substance, will in fact create a persona, a mask that will be socially recognizable (especially & first of all to ourselves); that we can adopt a "lifestyle" as if it were a commodity one might consume, & that testing will help us choose a "lifestyle" to maximize our options, blahblah, etc. etc.--& now I open my mail & find that the anarchists have fallen for this old con, that the anarchists are doing a consumers report & they need my important input, they need to turn me into a statistic, plot me on the flowchart, work me into the parameters of the next Major Anarchist Event Planning Commission's Report, count the trees in my backyard & the hairs in my armpit.

Been reading Baudrillard lately & cutting out the bullshit I find some useful ideas, such as: in the society of Simulation (which he sees as having succeeded the Society of the Spectacle) the test or survey becomes the primary means of control: the "silent majority" is seduced by the simulation of participation into becoming accomplices in their own degradation. Seems to me all the classical anarchist arguments against voting as a counterfeit of freedom can be applied by extension to testing as a simulation of choice. Especially testing in the form of the survey.

Not to mention the suspicious odor of the inner sanctum that permeates your text. Forgive me if I'm wrong, but this strikes me as the opening round in yet another attempt to define orthodoxy, to say who is an anarchist & who isn't. "Atheists IN, pagans OUT"? Is that the hint I'm getting here? Or am I paranoid (common enough amongst us relics of the '60s no doubt)? If I'm correct, then you can simply fill out a Test on my behalf, giving all the wrong answers, & forge my name to it, & purge me, & denounce me, & let's get it the fuck over

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Hungarian anarchists organize

Declaration on the formation of Autonomía

Autonomy in our interpretation is not only the final social aim, but also the free, responsible, morally guided behavior of self-conscious people.

The aim is a society without rulers, without hierarchy, without authoritarianism; society based on autonomy, self-governing communities functioning in a decentralized federation. Mutual aid, non-violence, tolerance and rejection of hierarchy should be the principles of the self-organizing society. All economic entities (factories, companies, etc.) should be the common property of those working there, and all these should be run according to the principles of workers' self-government. Economy should be subordinated to humanitarian and ecological goals.

Direct democracy should work in policy. The groups of people or communities should form their councils working on the principles of direct democracy and imperative mandate, that is, the members should only represent the decisions made by the voters.

No more oppression, no more exploitation!

No more discrimination for political, national, racist, religious, sexual, or any other reasons!

No more patriarchal men's rule! All women, children and elderly people should enjoy total emancipation.

Autonomía is an independent Hungarian political group without any leadership, which will work either as an association or as a political organization (like a party, etc.). The group will not join the struggle for political power, but will support the other independent grassroots communities, movements and groups, and will help them become active in the recent political situation. The group will not have representatives but will be active politically in a direct way by spreading its ideas and creating new alternative ways of life. Though the final aim is the society without parties and state, in the recent political situation in Hungary, we support all independent initiative which want to break the power of this totalitarian one-party system and fight for pluralism.

None of the existing models of democracy in the world are attractive enough for us, we reject all state-power systems.

Everyone who agrees with our principles is welcome to our group.

November 18, 1988
Autonomía
c/o Eötvös Klub
1053 Budapest
Karoly, Hungary

trickey bit of manipulation by just another power group--but then the naturally trusting part of me says, no, these folks are sincere, just trapped in a ridiculous ideology which affects their use of language."

CNT participates in Spanish general strike

The recent general strike in Spain--the first in over 50 years--saw a turnout that confounded the two unions which had called it, the U.G.T. (affiliated with the ruling "Socialists") and the C.C.O.O. (affiliated with the orthodox Spanish "Communists"). But the level of response did not surprise the anarchist-syndicalist union, the C.N.T.-A.I.T. (National Confederation of Workers, affiliated with the International Workers Association), which had organized Spain's two previous general strikes and which supported this current manifestation of popular anger to the full.

The call for the general strike came in response to government measures in pursuit of "free market" policies, and in particular to the newly-created youth "training" scheme, known as the plan de Empleo. The strike was also against unemployment which has risen in Spain.

The one-day call-out by the reformist U.G.T. and C.C.O.O. unions stands in sharp contrast to the social general strike encouraged by anarchists. The practice of the C.N.T. has always been to take the maximum advantage of a general strike and not simply to leave the workplace but to take it over, occupying or collectivizing it. But this is hardly possible with a one-day, symbolic strike.

Nevertheless the C.N.T.-A.I.T. gave full support to the strike, though it made clear that it was considered to be as much against the reformist policies of the reformist unions which called it, as it was against the government (the reformist unions have signed a "social pact" with the P.S.O.E.--the ruling "Socialist" party).

The strike began in a spectacular way at midnight on December 13th. On the pro-P.S.O.E.

channel one, an announcer predicted that the strike would draw a small response, with services expected to run as usual. But at that point the TV screen suddenly went blank, as the TV production workers pulled the plug, signalling the beginning of the strike. In contrast, on another channel the TV announcer signed off by predicting that the strike would be successful, wishing the viewers a "good rest" for the following day.

When dawn broke it was clear that channel one had gotten things all wrong. In Barcelona no newspapers appeared, taxis, busses, subways, and trains were at a complete standstill. Every single bar and shop were shut. The industrial area of Baix Llobregat was paralyzed and all schools were closed--both state and private. The same was true for theatres and cinemas. The main market was shut down by farmworkers at 3 in the morning. The few shops that attempted to open were stopped by pickets. And the giant Corte Ingles department store in Plaza Catalunya attracted several hundred pickets and riot police before being forced to close (the store is owned by the late General Franco's widow).

While the U.G.T., C.C.O.O. and the phoney "C.N.T." (the reformist "renovados," a minority split from the C.N.T.-A.I.T.) marched together, the anarcho-syndicalists organized a separate march (originally banned) which was attacked by the police. At the Plaza de Universidad the "cenetistas" (C.N.T. members) sang "A los Barricados" ("To the Barricades") while simultaneously barricading all the roads in the area. They then marched towards the Ramblas (a huge boulevard, one of the main streets in Barcelona), bricking banks as they went. Once on the Ramblas, the anarchists set up more barricades, blocking off the Plaza Catalunya. Police attacked and there was hand-to-hand fighting, which the mainstream media referred to as "guerrilla warfare."

Similar scenes were present in other parts of Spain. For example, in Madrid all public transport was brought to a halt after scabs were attacked with stones, with the police retaliating by firing over the heads of strikers.

For some it was like going back in time. The "one day affair" was but a glimpse of what could have happened. The C.N.T.-A.I.T. distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets calling for more radical action, and in consequence drew the most media attention, despite the fact that the strike had originally been called by the reformist unions. Source: *Black Flag* (London), by way of *Vancouver Ecomedia* (POB 69601 Stn.K, Vancouver, BC. V5K 4W7, Canada).

Collected by Eric Scheurmann
Illustrations by Joost Swarte
Translated by Martin Beumer

Editor's introduction: The Papalagi (with the 'g' pronounced as an 'h', or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches purportedly written by the South Pacific chief Tuiavii of Tiavea, and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann (an anthropologist). A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, *The Papalagi* is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from a "primitive" perspective.

When the word "spirit" comes out of the mouth of a Papalagi, his eyes widen, become round and staring, his chest swells up, he breathes deeply and stands tall like a warrior who has beaten his opponent. Because the "spirit" is something he's very proud of. Now I don't mean our mighty Great Spirit, the one the missionaries call God and in whose image we are all created, but that small spirit that belongs to the individual and forms his thoughts.

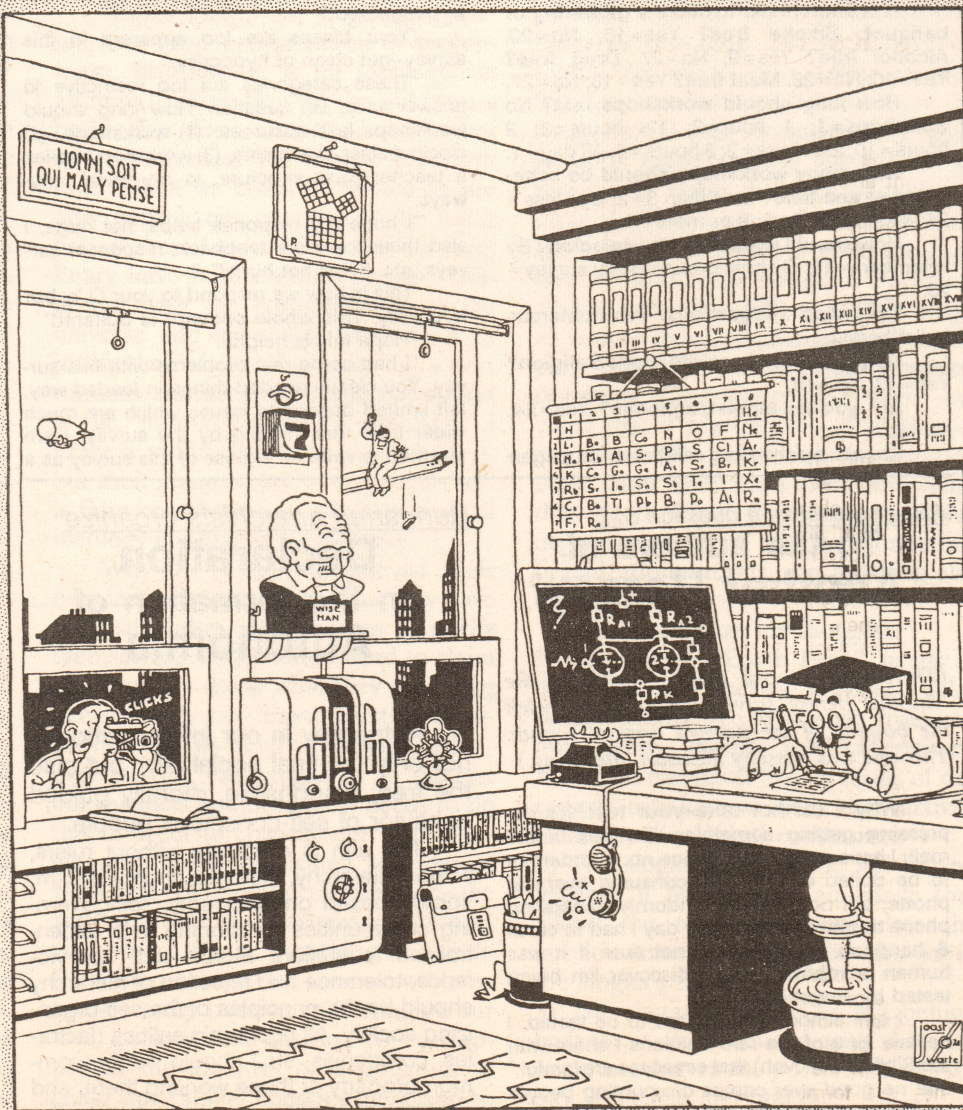
When I'm standing here, looking at the mango tree behind the mission post, then I see the tree and not the spirit. But when seeing that it is bigger than the mission, then my spirit is working. That's why seeing is not enough for me. I also have to know something. That knowing is practiced by the Papalagi day and night. Their spirit always behaves like a loaded firestick or a cast fishing-rod. Therefore he pities us, we the people of the many islands, because we do not practice knowing. He thinks we are stupid and deprived like the wild animals in the forest.

It may be true that we never practice knowing, or as the Papalagi call it, "thinking." But it is an open question as to who the most stupid is, the one that thinks not very often or the one that thinks too much. The Papalagi are constantly thinking. My hut is smaller than that palm tree. The palm tree bends over in the storm. The storm speaks with a loud voice. That's the way they think, in their particular way of course. But he also thinks about himself. I'm small. My heart is always glad when I see a girl. I enjoy very much going on *Malaga* (a journey), etc.

That may all be very nice and good and that may even bring all kinds of profit to those that like these games inside their heads. But the Papalagi think so much, that for them thinking has become a habit, a necessity, and a need. He has to keep on thinking. Only after much trouble does he succeed in not thinking and instead live with his whole body at once. Often they live only with their heads, while the rest of their bodies are sound asleep, although they walk around, speak, eat and laugh in the meantime. Thinking thoughts (the fruit of thinking) keeps him enslaved, intoxicated by his own thoughts. When the sun is shining, all the time he thinks about how nicely it shines. That's

THE PAPALAGI

SPEECHES BY
TUIAVII OF TIAVEA
A SAMOAN CHIEF



THE HEAVY THINKING SICKNESS

wrong, foolishness! Because when the sun shines, it is better not to think at all. A wise man would stretch out his limbs in the warm light and not give a thought in the meantime. He doesn't only absorb the sun with his head, but also with his hands and feet, his belly, his ankles and all his limbs. He let his skin and his limbs do the thinking for him. For those parts think too, though not the way the head thinks. But the thoughts are often standing in the way of the Papalagi, like a big boulder of lava that cannot be pushed aside. He may have happy thoughts, but they don't make him laugh and his sadder thoughts don't make him cry. He is hungry but he doesn't go for the taro or the *palusami*. Most of the time he is a man whose senses live in discord with his spirit, a man split up in two halves.

The life of a Papalagi is very much like somebody's boat trip to Savii, who from the moment of casting off is thinking: How long will it take before arrival at Savii? He thinks and is unaware of the friendly landscape he is travelling through. On the left side he perceives a mountain range. No sooner have his eyes seen them or they are locked already inside his mind. What will there be behind that mountain? Perhaps a deep and narrow gorge. With all that thinking he cannot join in the singing of the young rowers. He is also unaware of the happy chattering of the maidens. Immediately after passing the bay with its mountain range, a new thought starts

nagging him. Will there rise up a storm before nightfall? His eyes scan the clear skies for clouds. All the time thinking about the storm that might come. The storm doesn't come and by nightfall they reach Savii. But now he has the feeling that he did not make the boat trip at all, for his thoughts have dwelled far from his body and far from the boat trip. He could just as well have stayed in his hut on Upolu. A spirit like that is such a burden, and it isn't clear to me at all why I am supposed to love it so much. The Papalagi love the spirit, they honor it and feed it thoughts from their heads. They will never starve it, but they do not care much if one thought devours the other. He produces much noise with his thoughts and has them make a racket like a gang of badly raised kids. He acts as if his thoughts have reached the same stature as the flowers, the mountains and the forests. He talks about his thoughts with a veneration that makes a man's courage and a maiden's beauty worth nothing in comparison. Behaving himself as if mankind was intended to think that much. As if it were a commandment from the Great Spirit himself. When the palm tree and the mountain would think, at least they wouldn't make such a racket doing it. And if they would think noisily and uncontrolled as the Papalagi, the palm trees would certainly not bear such nice, green leaves and golden fruit. For now we know that thinking makes you old and ugly before

your time. The fruit would fall off before ripening. But it is more likely that they do not think at all.

And there are so many ways of thinking and so many targets to hit for our arrows of thought. It's a sad fate for the thinker whose thinking takes him too far off. What will happen when it is morning again? What will the Great Spirit be planning for me, when I arrive at the *Salafay* (underworld)? Where was I before the messenger of *Tagalao* (Overlord of Samoan mythology) brought me my *Agaga* (soul)? Thinking like that is as useless as trying to see with your eyes closed. It's not possible. And it is impossible to think your way through to the future or the end of the past. Those who try will find out for themselves. From the days of their youth till their ripe years, they roost like starlings on one and the same spot. They never see the sun anymore, nor the vast sea, the lovely girls, happiness; nothing, nothing at all. They can't even taste the *kava* anymore, they just stare straight at the floor. They are not alive, but they are not dead either. They have been struck by the heavy thinking sickness!

They say that thinking like that makes the head high and strong. If somebody in Europe thinks fast and much, they say: "He's a big head." Instead of feeling pity for these bigheads, they are widely praised. The villages make them their chiefs and everywhere a bighead makes his appearance, he has to perform his thinking in public for a whole crowd of people and it is considered delightful and marvelous by everyone. When a bighead dies, the whole country is plunged in mourning and much lamenting is done for the one who left them. A mirror-image is made out of rock and exhibited in the marketplace in front of everybody's eyes. Yes, these stone heads are made bigger than life-size, so the people will shower them with much honor and realize the smallness of their own heads.

When you ask the Papalagi why he thinks so much, he will answer: "Because I don't want to remain stupid." A Papalagi that doesn't think is considered *valea* (stupid), though in reality it is better not to think very often and still find your way around.

But personally I'm convinced it is just a pretext and the Papalagi have had intentions with their thinking. Their real aim is hunting the powers of the Great Spirit. An aim they gave the fancy name of "research." Research means looking at something so close up that you bump against it, and even through it, with your nose. That bumping and stirring around is a distasteful and lowdown habit of the Papalagi. They take a *skolopender* (a beetle or butterfly), run it through with a small spear and wrench out a leg. What does it look like, such a tiny leg, apart from the body? How was it attached to the body? He breaks the leg to measure its thickness. That's important, very important. He chips off a fragment of that leg, small as a grain of sand, puts it under a long tube that has the magic of making everything clearly visible. They investigate everything with that big, sharp-looking eye, your tears, a piece of your skin, a hair, everything, everything. All these things are pared down until its impossible to chip off another fragment. Although that object has been reduced to the smallest possible size, it now becomes extremely important, because here

Continued on page 21

Pedophilia: Views from the other side

I was fifteen, she was forty-three

A feminist looks at the place of female child-adult relations in the politics of the lesbian movement.
by Chris Bearchell

This essay was written by and for lesbians, but its importance for everyone concerned with free sexual expression should be obvious.

Donna lives in a small town in staunch Presbyterian Ontario where everyone knows everyone else, and where "it's difficult to be unconventional and almost impossible to be lesbian." Sharon was a teacher at her public school. "She first taught me sixth grade. I guess I was attracted to her then—though I didn't think of it in sexual terms. But then I didn't think of anything in sexual terms at the time." Sharon was a married woman—her husband was also a teacher—and she had two children. At the time, she was more than twice Donna's age.

The first woman Donna was actually involved with, however, was Jean. "I worked away from home the summer I was fourteen. I met Jean and was really impressed by her. But it's hard to imagine going to bed with a school friend's mother. It was the next summer before I actually had the nerve to do it. I was fifteen—she was forty-three. She was a beautiful woman, but our relationship was fraught with contradictions. I wanted it and initiated it, but I also felt guilty and fearful; I knew Jean's life as a forty-three-year-old wife and mother of seven children was complicated enough without the added burden of a lesbian relationship with a fifteen-year-old kid."

Meanwhile, Donna had maintained a regular correspondence with Sharon. "It seems quite strange, looking back on it, the way we cultivated our friendship. Real child-adult friendships are probably quite rare. We wrote letters even though we only lived a few miles apart; that made it seem a bit furtive, too. I guess we had to be content with melodrama when we had so few opportunities to see each other and when there were no acceptable forms for expressing what we felt for each other. That is, until I came out for the first time."

By the following summer, Sharon and Donna had been able to contrive some way of spending time together. "I had just turned sixteen when I told her about Jean and me. In retrospect, my 'big confession' seems sort of unreal. We had been out canoeing and had gone ashore on a small island. It sounds very romantic, doesn't it? I was a regular little conspirator. Only it didn't turn out exactly the way I'd planned. I was more or less saying to Sharon 'Alright, if you feel the same way about me as I feel about you, don't be afraid. You aren't leading me astray: You aren't taking me anywhere I haven't already been.' Her reaction seemed mostly to be shock. I guess I wasn't the most tactful sixteen-year-old."

But Donna's "coming out" about her relationship with Jean eventually did have the desired effect. "Sharon later told me that she felt strongly, almost magnetically drawn to me for those few minutes on the island and that her own responses were what really shocked her. Ours was her first lesbian relationship and seemed, for her, to carry all the significance of a first exploration of her sexual identity."

"But again, I felt guilty. Partly because of society's condemnation, should the nature of our relationship ever become known. But more because although Sharon's sexual orientation is to other women, she has chosen to live a heterosexual lifestyle. And I was a threat to her family—her security." Again, I wondered if maybe I wasn't taking more from her in emotional support and understanding than I could return.

While relationships between young lesbians and women much older than themselves are not uncommon, the extent to which Donna and her lovers survived perhaps is. Donna told me about another woman, Kelly, from the same small town, who was not so lucky. "When she was twenty-one, Kelly was involved with a young woman of fourteen. The pressures brought to bear on their relationship moved

them to foolhardy action; they ran away together. The young woman's family had them caught and returned. Life became even less bearable for them under the increased scrutiny, so they tried and failed again. For her second attempt at 'abduction' Kelly was threatened with prosecution. Her last desperate escape attempt was suicide. It proved more successful than the others." Donna has no doubt that there are more casualties than we will ever know.

Donna's feelings and experiences are not unique. But there are many lesbians who choose to overlook them, who tend to view such relationships with the same hostility that the straight world applies to all lesbian and gay relationships. Some of us are tempted to view child-adult interactions as "a problem," the way the psychiatric professions traditionally view homosexuality. Some of us use it as "an issue" with which to score political points against men.

Laws such as the "age of consent" and "statutory rape" provisions of the criminal code, which attempt to regulate the sexual behavior of youth and children under the pretense of protecting them, may have disastrous consequences for non-coercive adults such as Kelly, or even Sharon and Jean. But their most frequent victims are the children themselves, and especially female children. Just as rape laws historically view a woman not as a human being in her own right, but as the potentially "violated" property of a man (husband or father), so children are viewed as their parents' possessions. Children, especially young women, who explore their sexuality are deviating from the pre-ordained path of their socialization which allows for sexual activity only after the age of eighteen and even then, ideally, only within the bounds of "holy matrimony." They are forming meaningful relationships outside the confines of biological definitions and are stepping outside the bounds of parental authority. If a young woman rejects not only parental authority and anti-sexual attitudes, but compulsory heterosexuality as well, she may be thrice condemned.

For any and all of these "crimes" many a young lesbian has seen the inside of reformatories and other "correctional" institutions. The most common use of age of consent and statutory rape laws is thus to assert control over "uncontrollable" and "incorrigible" "girls." No one protects these women from the cops, the courts, the Children's Aid Society, the parole officers or their parents. Above all, their parents; less than a year ago this column contained an account of a high school lesbian whose parents (both teachers, one a guidance counsellor) threatened her with aversion therapy if she refused to break off with her lover.

It is certainly true that children are subjected to the power of adults: daughters to their fathers' sexual advances; both sons and daughters to the physical and economic power of either parent; and all children to the social, cultural, and legal power of institutions like schools and courts. Yes, an older lover might exercise some of those powers too, though perhaps with less intent, and surely with less social authorization. The point is that the laws as they stand do not, and were never intended to, protect children. They were and are a means of control that backs up the more insidious, less formal controls of the family structure and socialization.

One possible consequence of statements by some participants in the child-adult relationships discussion is a backing away from support for the gay movement's demand for abolition of age of consent laws. Those who argue only in favor of uniform age of consent laws (straight relationships are now legal at 18; gay people have to wait until 21 (Editorial note: this refers to Canadian law)) would be, in many instances, upholding the illegality of Donna's or Kelly's relationships. I can remember after leaving home—years before it was legally permissible in Alberta—seeking out the advice of a radical lawyer only to have my worst fears confirmed even as a certified coherent, self-educated, gainfully-employed human being I was almost entirely without rights, especially in matters sexual. I couldn't

get into bed with a lover without hearing heavy boots on the stairs.

[Some lesbians], because of their experiences with male power, suspect that child-adult relationships have more serious consequences for male children. As a feminist I have to remind any woman with those hesitations that male children, unlike their sisters, are the inheritors of male privilege. They will out-grow the oppression they experience as children. Most of us do not have sufficient experience with the development of male sexuality to pass a harsher judgement on relationships between boys and men than on relationships between girls and women. Only an honest examination of our experiences as children will help us in our attempts to understand children's sexuality.

My first intimate relationship was with an eight-year-old girl, when I was the same age. One occasion in particular was fun, thoroughly sexual and ultimately a disaster. Naive (even for eight-year-olds), we were oblivious to our surroundings and the consequences of our joy until it was too late and we were caught. The most profound thing I learned from that experience had little to do with sexuality and a lot to do with taboos, guilt, and parental hysteria and power. The experiences of boys and young men are, I'm sure, not much different. Some of them may be braver, more aggressive and self-assured in relating sexually and in

resisting adults, which may account for their greater willingness to enter into child-adult relationships at a younger age. But guilt feelings are still ingrained, more often by parental and social reaction than by the relationship itself.

We must remind ourselves, those of us who began at an early age to question and to rebel against our socialization that while fourteen or fifteen-year-old women seem just that—young women—to us, this isn't necessarily the view of the dominant culture that we live in. For the straight world out there a fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen-year-old is a child for whom any kind of sexual expression is sinful, sick or criminal whether it is gay or straight, with an adult or a peer. To the great "them" out there, a fifteen-year-old "girl" involved with a teacher or a camp counsellor is a child in the grasp of disgusting corruption, no matter how mutual or loving the relationship. This perverse attitude says that sex is primarily reproductive and that the law has the right to interfere with this aspect of our lives, whether it is to deny women control over their bodies, to give preferential treatment to "legalized" relationships, or to outlaw lesbian or gay sexuality altogether. Any vestige of these attitudes has no place in either the gay or lesbian movements.

This essay was reprinted from Coming On (c/o Queer Anarchist Network, POB 6705, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X5, Canada).

Girl Love

The following short essays are excerpted from Girl Love; Notes From Beyond the Looking-Glass, (Election Day 1988 issue), a newsletter for "pedophiles" with a preference for girls. No address is available for obvious reasons.

(Re)Stating the Obvious Not Easy

Girl Love quoted Orwell in an earlier issue: "We have now sunk to a depth at which a restatement of the obvious is the first duty of intelligent men." This was a call to reason and logic. But just what is obvious is elusive and determined by culture and time. Tonsils that would have had to have come out (obviously) in 1950, obviously don't need to be messed with today.

Our society sees child sex and particularly adult-child sex with eyes frightened by the undeniable horror of such activity. Yet Girl Love views this emotional obviousness as groundless superstition and its justifications as faulty as a '50s doctor's knowledge about the need for a tonsillectomy.

Girl Love was originally meant to serve only a few persons with a very special outlook and lifestyle—pedophiles. As is common within such closed groups we speak of ourselves often in the disparaging terms of our enemies. Therefore, it might happen we use "molest" or even "rape" as satire of society's use of these same words in ways which are to us nonsensical.

But when an "outsider" reads these words he may well fail to see the humor intended and interpret the language as a gloating over evil.

Since Girl Love is finding some small circulation outside of its primary audience we have decided to offer a "straight" explanation of our thoughts on the subject of this newsletter.

And maybe this restatement of principles will help us all; we forget at times that we are not evil simply because others say so. We need to be reminded of the warped reasoning used to condemn us.

Faulty statistics and strained epistemology are the main "objective" justifications for belief in the harm of child sex. Later we'll examine individual elements of the evidence against child sex but for now will keep the discussion general.

Girl Love has dealt with statistics before. They appear to be pulled from various hats and relate to nothing except the quoter's prejudices.

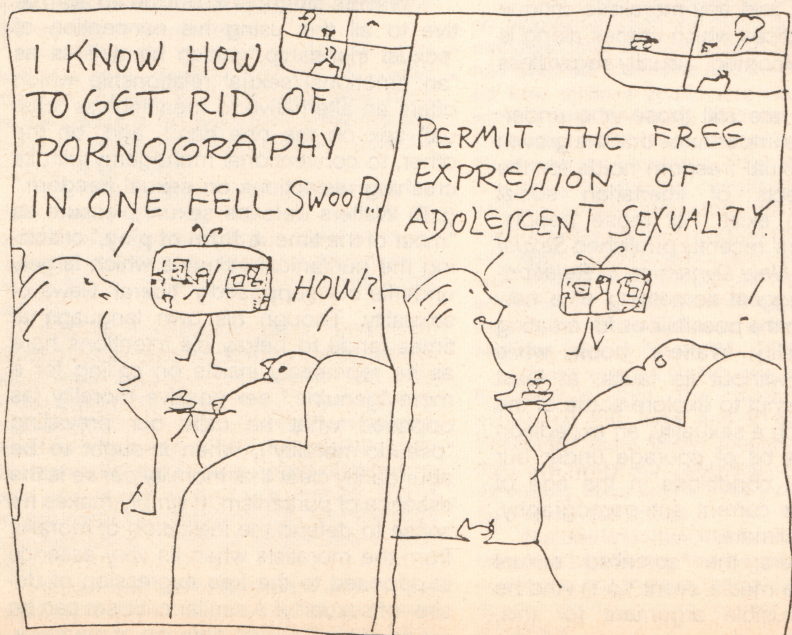
The numbers claimed are enormous. One and a half million children missing. Two million missing each year. Fifty thousand kids disappearing and never being heard from again—each and every year. One in 4 girls molested before she reaches her majority.

Furthermore these figures concerning missing children have very little to do with sex in any form. These are runaways, throwaways, and custody-disputed children, yet the media and child-protective workers would have us believe the inflated numbers they bark reflect hordes of predatory child molesters hiding behind every tree and waiting to pounce on the unwary little one.

Even now after it's been shown indisputably that the scare figures are outright lies, they are used by politicians and social agencies who know the truth but ignore it to further their programs.

Language presents another field for review. Here too Girl Love has commented before. Man needs to dehumanize his enemy.

Continued on page 19



by Tuli Kupferberg (Vanity Press, 160 Sixth Ave., NYC, N.Y. 10013).

Liberating sexuality

Richard Walters' *Sexual Friendship; A New Dynamics in Relationships* and Will McBride & Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt's *Show Me! A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents* reviewed by Lev Chernyi

Sexual Friendship; A New Dynamics in Relationships by Richard Walters (Libra Publishers, 3089C Clairemont Drive Suite 383, San Diego, CA. 92117) 118pp. \$12.95 paper [plus \$1.00 postage & handling].

Show Me! A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents by Will McBride and Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1975) 176pp., \$12.95 hardcover.

Sexual freedom remains as elusive for us now as it ever has. Despite a prevailing facade of "liberal" and "enlightened" attitudes toward sexuality, the impoverishment of our sexuality in actual practice is possibly as devastating now as it was in the pre-"Sexual Revolution" days of the 1950s. What we've gained in some areas, we seem to have lost in others.

Even the idea of sexual freedom itself seems to have gone out of style for most people. According to the mainstream media the sexual counter-revolution is in full swing, with a new embrace of the repressive "traditional" values and institutions which only a decade or two ago were undergoing severe criticism in both theory and popular practice. Monogamy, marriage, and the (nuclear) family are officially "in" again, along with an increasing censorship of pornography (and/or "erotica"), opposition to birth control dissemination and abortion, and persecution of sexual "deviance." As usual, the ideology and the reality of sexual practice continue to diverge widely. Yet it's unquestionably true that—at least on the terrain of ideology and traditional politics—sexual repression has made a fairly big comeback in the last few years.

Even more disheartening for those who value both their freedom and their sexuality is the widespread seduction of social and political radicals (and especially of a remarkably broad segment of the feminist movement) by the heralds of the new sexual repression. For the more sophisticated among them, the critique of commoditized sexuality has led to a moralistic renunciation of a "sexual freedom" which has for them now come to be synonymous with isolated, manipulative and superficial sexuality—sex as a commodity stripped of its deeper meanings. For the more naive (and genuinely reactionary), the free expression of sexuality remains taboo, period, and any moralistic critique of sexual practices which comes along is uncritically welcomed, usually regardless of its source.

Yet there are still those who understand the huge importance that the growth of genuine sexual freedom holds for the scant prospects of libertarian social change which exist. For those people, Richard Walters' recently published *Sexual Friendship; A New Dynamics in Relationships* may suggest something of a new perspective on the possibilities for creating a freer sexuality. Walters' book, while certainly not without its faults, at least makes an attempt to explore some of the outlines of such a sexuality, an expedition which takes a bit of courage under our present social conditions in the age of AIDS, and the current anti-pornography, anti-abortion climate.

For Walters, the "so-called 'sexual revolution' is a media event." (p.1) And he makes a plausible argument for this, though the changes brought on by the

birth-control pill, the feminist movement and the general loosening of rigid sexual moralities in the last thirty years also cannot be denied. That these changes fall far short of a "revolution" should be obvious to anyone not easily seduced by the typical hyperbole of mass media pundits.

Walters argues, that despite the constant sensory assault by a sexualized media, "sexual freedom is an illusion. In the land of constant sexual allures, the average person is **sexually starved** most of the time." (p.1) In the typical marriage, sex is both unsatisfyingly short and qualitatively frustrating. While the singles scene ends "in frustration more often than not. In fact, masturbation is the chief erotic outlet for singles of both sexes. This is also true of many married persons." (p.2)

For Walters, this "lack of physical fulfillment is a root cause of the hatred that each sex feels toward the other." (And although he doesn't name the other "root causes"—a definite weakness in the book, he does at least allow for their existence.) He argues that sex doesn't have to be the culmination of an idealized relationship with a perfect mate; sexuality can be a delightful, relaxing, playful, sensual pleasure with a variety of partners in a variety of settings. He approvingly quotes the well-known founder of the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy, Albert Ellis, who says "The vast majority of men and women are instinctively non-monogamous." (p.5) And he provides a wealth of cross-cultural examples to illustrate his contention that sexual variety is practiced by eighty percent of the world's population.

In contrast with more sexually tolerant cultures, we tend to be highly ambivalent about the idea and practice of sexual freedom. The most extravagant sexual fantasies often commune with a slavish moralism in the same person! Sexual hypocrisy (like the double standard) is as pervasive as the compulsory morality it reflects, while sexual abuse, harassment and rape mirror the highly repressed, explosive sexuality which largely underlies their existence. As Walters points out in his two chapters, "Woman—the sexual cripple" and "Man, the machine," the prevailing mode of repressive socialization has created a society of inhibited and passive women, and unemotional and almost sadistic men. Stereotyped sex roles cripple all of us, though we feel the effects in different ways.

Walters attempts to outline an alternative to all this using his conception of "sexual friendship," which he defines as "an emotional/sexual relationship which offers an alternative to meaningless 'casual' sex on the one hand, and, on the other, to conventional monogamy with its crushing restrictions on sexual freedom." (p.5) Walters defends sexual pleasure as "most of the time, a form of play," criticizing the puritanical attitudes which largely underlie our supposedly "liberal" views of sexuality. Though his own language at times tends to betray his intentions here as he repeatedly insists on calling for a more "genuine," sex-positive morality (as opposed to what he calls our prevailing "pseudo-morality"), when it ought to be abundantly clear that morality *per se* is the essence of puritanism. It simply makes no sense to defend the institution of morality from the moralists when its very essence is opposed to the free expression of desire—of sexuality! A similar criticism can be made of his (limited) defense of marriage.

Other flaws in the book include an over-reliance on the cult of statistics, on "scientific" sexual research, and cross-cultural "studies." While all of these have a certain value in a book of this kind, they still need to be put in their place as limited, imperfect indications of how people's lives are really lived. Statistics speak in an excessively quantified, and thus excessively abstract, way about something which, in this case, can hardly be spoken of very appropriately in such terms. At bottom, statistics like the number of orgasms per week per marriage just can't tell us all that much, and need to be used more cautiously. Over-generalization must be avoided. Scientific sexual research and cross-cultural studies suffer from similar problems. The objectification of "sexuality" in order to study it institutionally in scientific terms can unintentionally distort (if not destroy) its object as a living and lived phenomenon. While cross-cultural anthropological studies usually bring many, many unquestioned assumptions to their observations of other cultures. Once again, this type of research, while it may be useful in some ways, needs to be put in its appropriate place and cited with more care. Otherwise, we can be left defending absurdities like some of Walters' more extravagant contentions—for instance, his unqualified statement that "Virtually all Mangaiian women achieve orgasm." One can only wonder how the research was done which came to this amazing conclusion of unqualified fact.

Show Me!



A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents
Photography and Captions by Will McBride
Explanatory Text by Dr. Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt

Furthermore, from an anarchist perspective Walters' book suffers from a more severe problem. It speaks of sexuality as though it were a relatively autonomous interpersonal sphere, without examining or considering very deeply the extensive ties and relationships between sexuality and the economy, politics, culture, and social institutions like the family. Not that these are never mentioned, but there is no comprehensive understanding of how all these aspects of our social world cohere in the particular complex of capitalism, industrialism and institutional authoritarianism in which we live. Sexuality doesn't exist in a vacuum.

Nor is it necessary, as Walters seems to think, to "prove" that sexual freedom is completely compatible with a rigid division of labor in a highly industrialized economy—that it won't lead to a more dissolute style of life! The example he gives of a

relatively industrious, yet sexually permissive, culture will not be likely to convince most capitalists of the advisability of allowing sexual freedom in the workplace. Nor should it, since the demand for, and practice of, sexual freedom will likely continue to undermine the work ethic in an out-of-control economy bent on turning the entire earth into a department store-cum-factory.

Still, Walters' book is well worth reading for those interested in enlarging the current sphere of what passes for relatively free sexuality. Despite the book's flaws, he makes many of the basic arguments which need to be made in a text which is fairly easy and pleasant to read.

While Walters' book ends with a chapter on children's sexuality entitled "Save the children" (reprinted on page 16 of this issue), Will McBride and Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt have put together an entire book, appropriately entitled *Show Me!*, devoted to introducing children to the world of sexuality. Here's a book that every child and every adult should have a chance to look through. Subtitled "A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents" with full-page photographs (which certainly don't leave genitals—or even oral-genital sexuality—to the imagination) in an oversized format, this is an extremely well done attempt at direct and explicit sexual education oriented towards use by parents with their children. The black & white photography by McBride is superb, and the captions were gathered from the spontaneous comments of the children who were photographed. You can almost hear their voices when they say, "Aw, come on, show me!"

Dr. Fleischhauer-Hardt's 33-page "Explanatory text," which follows the photos and captions, is an excellent introduction to libertarian sexual education. As she says "Children who have grown up in a

free and unconstrained family atmosphere react positively to the photographs. They show interest and ask questions. Even children of preschool age react in this way. A child only accepts what he or she can comprehend, in any case, and this depends on the stage of development. In no way can looking at the pictures damage a child, even if he or she does not yet understand them. Children see many other things in their surroundings which they cannot understand."

This book will be strong stuff for most families. Even in 1975, when it was first published, it enjoyed an awfully rough reception. These days, with the current witch-hunt for "child molesters" in every pre-school, and with the collapse of any movement for sexual freedom, it seems unlikely that it could even be displayed in most bookstores without the vice cops being called. This shows how dismal our present sexual misery really is. Even bringing up the topic of children's sexuality is enough in most circles to get one branded a pervert!

The authors say, "We have made this book for children and parents. In their hands it can be an aid to sexual enlightenment. But above all we hope it will show parents that natural sexuality develops only when children are surrounded from birth onwards by a loving family and environment which does not repress sexuality...We are of the opinion that only an explicit and realistic presentation of sex can spare children fear and guilt feelings related to sexuality. For this reason we chose photography as a medium." However, in a dominant culture in which fear and guilt related to sexuality are considered to be the "natural" norm, a book like this will challenge even more libertarian parents with its straightforward acceptance of sexuality. Until we can all show a book like this to our children of any age, sexual liberation will certainly remain a dream awaiting its reality.

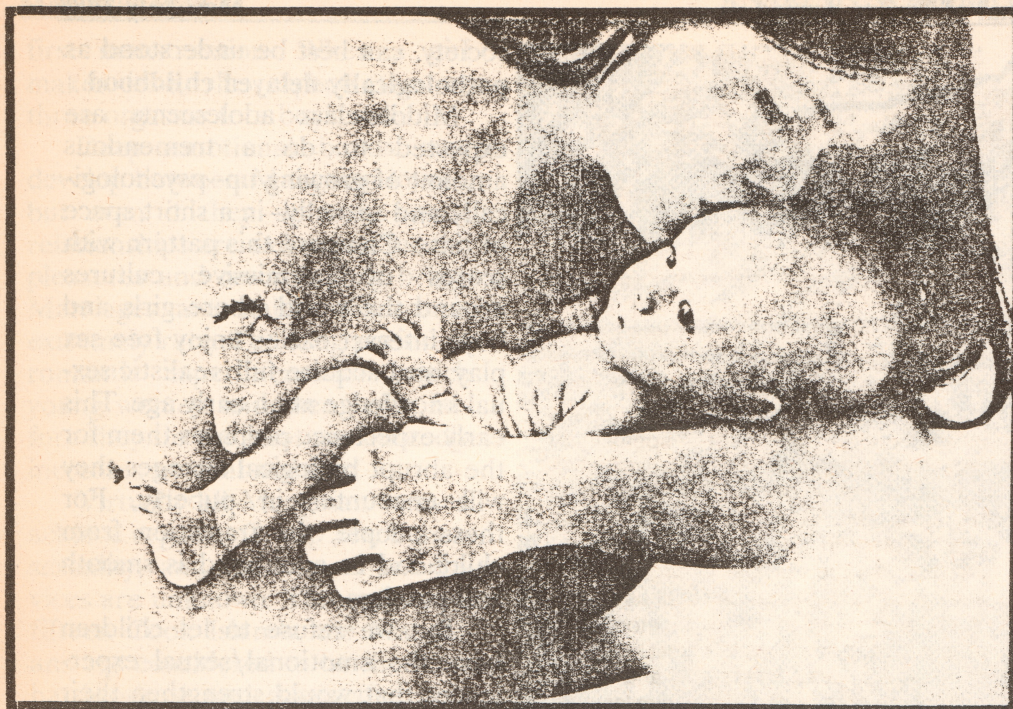


Photo reprinted from Show Me! A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents.

Sexuality and the mystique of innocence

by Laure A.

Innocence. Innocence is one of those strange abstract qualities, often confused with naïveté, that is often meant as a state of being in which the individual is devoid of any desire to do anything bad. In our culture, innocence and sexuality seem to find themselves in opposite realms according to the minds of a large portion of the population. Indicative of this fact is the way we talk about sex, about "losing our innocence." Is it that most people still consider sex a "bad" thing?

A lot has happened in the way of a sexual revolution in the last 20

years, but when it comes to the sexuality of children, all the contradictions, hypocrisy and hang-ups of Victorian sexuality rear their ugly head. While we are listening to Dr. Ruth Westheimer tell us how to have more satisfying sex lives, the child caught masturbating in his bedroom will be the object of concern, perhaps scorn, and most likely'd be discouraged from doing so. Why is it that sex is not seen as an appropriate activity for children to engage in?

Every year kids will go out and participate in sports, play war games, kill small animals, watch six hours of television a day, all without too much concern on the part of parents. Many parents are happy to see "their" children engage in physical activities such as sports, but when it comes to sex...

or at least by mail, person-to-person. There can be no such thing as anarchist "order," but only that which is spontaneous, personal, arising out of Chaos, & pleasurable. The very structure of the Test violates these preconditions.

Hakim Bey

Alternative press review

continued from page 8

and information for high school students interested in competing in a national essay contest concerning "What qualities are most important in the selection of a U.S. president?" Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Discomfit Vol. 1, #2/Dec. '88 & #3/Jan.-Feb. '89 (POB 30313 Plaza Sta., Kansas City, MO. 64112) aims to be a journal of "progressive radical culture and politics." Issue #2 includes "The KJHK clampdown" (on censorship at a college radio station in Lawrence, Kansas), an article on Christian anti-nuclear-weapon group (the Peace Planters and Pruning Hooks) operating in Missouri, and the latest "Project Censored" stories. Issue #3 features a reprint of "Readers Digest and the C.I.A." by Fred Landis (from *Covert Action Information Bulletin*). Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Outrage #13/April, '88 (108 Schuyler Place, Ithaca, NY. 14850) is a 16-page student zine. Send a 45¢ SASE.

Unfortunately, many of the reviews that should have appeared in this issue will have to wait until our next due to a shortage of space.

The Sad Truth

continued from page 3

industrial allies. It has dictated that more people in Venezuela must suffer and die, in order that largely U.S. banks and corporations can continue to extract huge profits from them.

People say that children are not ready, that they are not responsible enough, or that they may be taken advantage of, and for these seemingly good reasons, should not engage in sex. But let's take a good look at all these reasons and examine the inconsistencies.

"Children are not ready to handle the emotional aspects of their sexuality." Obviously, whenever a child feels the urge to experiment sexually they are physically ready to enjoy their sexuality. As for the emotional aspect, are adults trying to say that it is never possible to have sex without being adversely affected, or are they saying that children can have unrealistic emotional demands? Isn't every child a unique individual, ready to deal with different situations on their own level? Do you automatically figure out the world of people and relationships as in a grand revelation on your 18th birthday, or on your wedding night? No, of course not. My question is, when do we stop butting in and let those we care about take chances? There are many unknown worlds into which we venture; people have got to have the freedom to take a few chances, and even to make a few mistakes. At the risk of sounding callous, so perhaps things go smoothly and perhaps they don't—most people will eventually deal with it. And for those who have tragic incidents, it's not the fault of taken chances, any more than it's the fault of a person who gets mugged that it happened just because they walked the streets late at night. Children are not necessarily vulnerable, nor are they necessarily apt to get themselves in trouble.

Case in point: as a young child my parents were berated because I went all over the place by myself. I even crossed the parkway by myself. Of course, I was not struck down by a car until I was 22.... You might think this has nothing to do with sex and emotional heartache, but it does. The fact is that you really never know what's out there in the world of relationships, regardless of your age. And just think, even if you get married and are happy, you don't live happily ever after 'cause hubbie could keel over with a heart attack or wifey could kill herself in the bathtub, and then where does that leave you? Give me a break; what we have here is ageist bullshit, based on the notion that children are innocent, that they are better than us, and somehow deserve an easier life. However our parents continue to perpetuate the economy, poison our rivers, and instill lunacy into our lives. I ask you, does this make any sense?

"Children are not 'responsible' enough to have sex." (Author's translation: Those dumb fucks might get some girl pregnant.) Well, of course children are not ready for the responsibilities of parenthood. I personally think that most people in the "civilized" world aren't. Just imagine entire groups of people trying to deny you access to information or goods, like certain adults who wish to make birth control unavailable or undesirably inaccessible to teenagers. They will deny you access to information, then call you "uneducated" because you don't know it. In thinking of birth control as a medical issue, not as a sexual one (much like you would think of a vaccination), you can see how idiotic it is not to make it available to everyone. Nowadays many adults can

agree with this, and usually those who don't are clinging on to their vestiges of the concept of innocence, and of sexual activity as something bad. Of course, free, easily accessible birth control does not ensure its use. Some things I have heard teenage girls say are: "I didn't want him to think I was ready for it, like I do this often," or "I want a baby of my own." The father is another manifestation of that mystique of innocence (coming from the adult world and what they have given us) and the latter can be symptomatic of a number of social situations. The irresponsibility of young people is not the fault of the young people; a piece of advice to all the hung-up adults out there: get your act together first if you're so concerned about responsibility.

Going back a bit to the famous first objection to children's sexuality, you know parents stand a much better chance of fucking up a kid's head than some sour melodramatic romance. Even an "innocent" thing that a parent might do, such as getting a divorce, could hurt a kid emotionally, yet, lucky for us, that hasn't stopped the continual, voluntary break-up of the nuclear family unit. Unfortunately for kids, the only time many people get upset is when they hear tales of incestual sexual abuse; scores of verbal abuse, physical abuse (especially corporal punishment), mental harassment, anguish infliction and so on go unchallenged by the adult community. While using coercion to kindle sexual relations is wrong, and is immediately frowned on by society, all other types of coercion abound and are more or less approved of. (The most popular form of coercion being a combination of punishment and dependence upon the parent). All incest, by the way, is looked down at, even though the majority of incestual relations are probably consensual relations between peers, i.e. brother and sister. We are a society of taboos, of strange concepts of right and wrong, of good and evil.

And finally, *"Children are just right for being taken advantage of."* This is perhaps the most pernicious of all arguments, as most people, myself included, do not want to see them being taken advantage of. But what, pray tell, do people consider taking advantage of one to constitute? Is it bombarding a six-year-old with colorful commercials for crappy toys in an attempt to corner the youth market? Is it attempting to distort a child's view of the world to fit your own? Is it capitalism? Is it taxes or the state? Yes. Yet sexual injustice inspires a stronger reaction than any of those. Just who are you afraid will take advantage of all these innocent children, if not worldly, corrupt adults? You can not penalize children because they may be victimized; any of us can be taken advantage of at any time. Perhaps it was repressed sexuality, after all, that created generations of rapists, of sexual opportunists, and of other sexually dysfunctional people.

In closing, let me say that I will never be a grown-up, no matter what the state tells me I am. To me there are two worlds as far as us kids are concerned: that inhabited by the authority figures and the one we live in. A social revolution in the family is needed to truly shake the foundations of this society. Come on kids, let's get our act together.

Oh yeah! Why do you think they give us teddy bears?!

with & not horse around with surveys. I feel betrayed, poll-axed, boiled down to a number in some weird Neilsen rating of an anarcho-bureaucrat's liverish power-fantasy.

Data "is" not power, however. Knowledge is power. And tests do not test knowledge. They test the ability (or more exactly, merely the willingness) to be tested. The results of the survey—any survey—are largely meaningless. What does have meaning is that a test has been given & that it has been taken—& in each case, it is meaningful to know *who* gave the test, who took it. But then the question, "who took the test?" that becomes meaningless too, because the answer is only a number, a datum. So the only important thing is who *gave* the test, because that must be the *who* with the power. But then even that bit of information is leached & drained of all significance, because...because in the end who gives a shit? What power do you actually get over me by testing me? Especially if I refuse to be tested, or even better, give wrong answers, or even better (as Baudrillard says) if I give hyper-conformist answers, the very ones you expected, the very ones you desired...then your power has lost its zest, your power is deflated, empty—because I fail to care, because I am silent, because I will not oppose you on your terms & thus validate your being & your power.

I reduce all this to absurdity only in order to make one point, constructive criticism, comradely in nature, namely: I cannot take your test & would urge other anti-authoritarians not to take it. The actual points you raise are important & can only be discussed between human beings, among comrades, face-to-face



Photo by Mikell Zhan

Save the children

by Richard Walters

Babies and small children are not only sensual, they are sexual as well. Infants emerge from the womb equipped for sexual pleasure. All girl babies lubricate vaginally in the first four to six hours of life. All boy babies get penile erections, often on the day they are born. While babies are asleep, spontaneous erection or vaginal lubrication occurs every 80 to 90 minutes. This pattern begins in earliest infancy and continues throughout the entire lifespan.¹

An infant is a sensuous being, its whole body a sexual organ. Babies become sexually aroused through proper stimulation. They experience intense erotic feelings that find an outlet in orgasm. Infants of both sexes touch their genitals and move their bodies rhythmically until they climax. Children as young as six months of age masturbate to achieve what appear to be full orgasmic responses. Some babies even discover the pleasure of self-stimulation leading to orgasm in the first month of life.²

Self-stimulation begins in the cradle and is a normal, universal activity. It is the toddler's preparation for adult sexuality.

The image of children as "pure," undefiled by sexual urges, is still pervasive. We have difficulty accepting the fact that children are sexual creatures from birth onwards. We have been conditioned to believe that sexuality is something that suddenly springs up out of nowhere in puberty or adolescence.

Actually, there is no "latency period" in which a child's sexual urges lie dormant, as psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud mistakenly assumed. Sexual activity starts in infancy and continues right through adolescence into full maturity. Research shows that sex is a major preoccupation during the so-called "latency" years--from five to eleven--despite parents' strenuous efforts to eliminate their children's sexual activity. Some experienced psychoanalysts now quietly say, "Of course, there's no latency period."³

Small children are sexually aroused easily and spontaneously. Even in our restrictive society, erotic play between nursery school children occurs frequently. Girls and boys show an avid interest in each other's genitals. They view the sex organs as exciting, beautiful, and powerful. Kissing, masturbation, sensuous touching, and voyeuristic pleasure in seeing nude bodies are common activities among girls and boys between kindergarten and grade six.⁴

Children of both sexes have erotic fantasies, beginning at a very early age. By four or five, they are weaving sexual fantasies around specific events.⁵ Studies suggest that nearly all children have incestuous dreams and fantasies, as well as homoerotic daydreams involving same-sex partners.

Between ages two and five, children act in openly flirtatious and highly sensuous ways. During this stage, little girls play up to their fathers, and little boys become gallant suitors to their mothers. Many children play-act intricate love affairs with each other. Sex play tends to occur naturally unless parents intervene.

Children's capacity to have intense erotic desires may come as a shock to many people, but it has been amply demonstrated in clinical research. In one study, a two-year-old girl asks her father, "Daddy, would you kiss my clitoris?" A boy in first grade gets his first erection (or the first one he can remember) while sitting on his female teacher's lap. A seven-year-old boy enjoys repeated, exploratory fondling and caressing with a girl neighbor, aged eleven.⁶ These examples and many others like them upset people who are accustomed to think of children as sexless.

In adolescence, an upsurge of hormones triggers intensified sexual feelings. But adolescence is not a time of sexual freedom. Adolescence, as it is structured in our

society, can best be understood as **pathologically delayed childhood.**

Middle-class adolescents are expected to do a tremendous amount of growing up--psychologically and sexually--in a short space of time. Compare this pattern with scores of permissive cultures around the world where girls and boys interact easily, enjoy free sex play, and acquire full, realistic sexual knowledge at an early age. This early experience prepares them for the abrupt biological changes they will encounter in puberty. For these people, the transition from childhood to adulthood is smooth and painless.

But we refuse to let children have the emotional/sexual experiences that would strengthen their ego development. Because children in our society miss out on this near-universal exploratory phase, they have trouble adjusting to their suddenly heightened drives and changed bodies in adolescence. As a result, they are torn by guilt and anxiety over their sexuality. They suffer from self-hatred, excessive masturbation and daydreams, neuroses, childish regressions, displaced anger, and all the other "storm-and-stress" phenomena of the adolescent years.

These years are **not** the optimal time for young people to work through the vast psychosexual changes we expect them to accomplish. Sexuality is a **learned** response, with new skills to acquire, and higher levels of maturity to reach, at each age.

For us, childhood is a series of missed opportunities for psychosexual growth. We force adolescents to cram all their emotional/sexual development into a few short years, then we hem in those years with a string of "don'ts." Naturally, our conflicted adolescents grow up into emotionally crippled and sexually incompetent adults.

Children in many cultures start having sexual intercourse between the ages of six and eight, or earlier. In other societies, very few virgins over the age of ten or eleven can be found. The Mangaia of Polynesia, the Maori, Eskimos who play at "putting out the lights," and the Lepcha are examples of societies where children have full sexual relations long before they are capable of reproducing themselves.⁷

Among the Mangaia, a people native to one of the Cook Islands in the south Pacific, children begin sex play at age three or four and intercourse follows naturally without prompting. Mangaian children frequently observe adult lovemaking and grown-up nudity. These experiences are not "traumas" for the children, but simple, matter-of-fact observations. Such experiences, of course, might be "traumas" for children in our society.

Psychosexual growth is a smooth, unbroken continuum for the Mangaia. Girls become fully orgasmic around the time of their

first menstruation. When a girl makes love, she expects two or three orgasms to a boy's one.

Deep emotional bonds may develop between Mangaian lovers, but even if they do not, sexual relationships are welcomed for the pleasures and rewards they bring. Marriages are stable; divorce is extremely rare. The long period of romantic experimentation which young women and men enjoy before they tie the knot undoubtedly increases marital stability.

Virtually all Mangaian women achieve orgasm. Group sex, homosexuality, and the use of sex devices are unknown. Throughout all fifteen Cook Islands, the Mangaians are considered to be the most hardworking and productive people, thus disproving the idea that sexual freedom leads to a dissolute, wasted existence.⁸

The early, "precocious" sexual activity of children does not harm their personality development. On the contrary, communities in which children enjoy sex play and love-making produce adults who are remarkably free from the mental disorders that plague our own society.⁹

Cross-cultural evidence shows that there are better ways of dealing with children's sexuality than trying to squelch it as we do. In fact, a case could be made for the opposite view--that we should encourage our children to explore their sexuality and sensuality. Those communities marked by sexual permissiveness and physically affectionate childbearing are the **least** violent and murderous societies.

Anthropological evidence strongly suggests that sexual freedom does not lead to orgies and dissolution. Instead it normally leads to marriage, child rearing, responsibility, and economic stability. Those who argue that relaxing our antisex "morality" would destroy the foundations of society are contradicted by the findings.

Strange as it may seem, children did not always exist; they were invented. The institution of childhood arose in Europe in the sixteenth century. Before then, children were not treated as innocent, sexless creatures who had to be sheltered from the realities of the adult world. Grown-ups talked and acted openly about sex and every other "adult" matter in front of their children. Girls often married at thirteen and sexual activity before that age was very common.

The concept of childhood as a separate stage of innocence simply did not exist. In fact, most European languages had no word for childhood until modern times.

The myth of childhood has reached its most suffocating extreme in the U.S., where children are viewed as special creatures who have to be handled in special ways. They are treated as the private property of their parents, like adult



Photo by Mikell Zhan.

toys or consumer items--an attitude reflected in one married couple's question, "Should we buy a new car this year or have a baby?"

Freedom to explore their bodies by children continues to be forbidden, long after the discovery by Freud and others that toddlers are highly sexual. The idea that children are sensual **and** sexual disturbs almost everyone--except children. **They** are unaware that sex is supposed to be harmful, dirty, loathsome, traumatic, or sinful. Children must be taught to perceive sex as such.

A child's initial reaction to sex is one of curiosity and pleasure. Children in general are ready and willing to learn anything that promises immediate enjoyment. They are neither shocked nor offended by the body and its functions, unless they are taught so by parents and other authority figures. Most parents intimidate and sexually cripple their children, making them afraid of perfectly normal sexual desires, thoughts, and acts. The naturally curious child is turned into an uptight little prude.

A child's impulse to explore its own body is stifled, long before an infant can understand commands such as "Don't touch yourself

there!" By means of nonverbal cues, parents condition their children to shun sensual pleasure. Mothers with deep-seated anxieties about sex transmit their own negative feelings to their children through their muscular tension and voice intonations. Girls and boys learn that sex is naughty even before they learn how to talk. This makes their sexual blockages even harder to remove when they become adults.

Children's instinctive desire to be held close, touched, and comforted by their parents is minimally satisfied at best. Every baby wants to make extensive contact with its mother's skin--to explore, to feel, to bite. This physical contact is a necessary part of the infant's emerging erotic identity. But intimate fondling of babies--so common in other societies--is rare in ours.¹⁰ Mothers hold back, depriving their children of adequate body stimulation and emotional warmth.

Without this essential contact, a child learns to withdraw, to inhibit its own sensuality and curiosity. The sensually deprived child develops into a grown-up who feels uncomfortable with simple, affectionate touching, whether in daily situations or when making love.

One way mothers thwart their children's basic need for body contact is by withholding the breast. Fewer than twenty percent of mothers in the U.S. nurse their infants.¹¹ Of those who do, many offer the breast halfheartedly, as a duty, and give up quickly.

It was your loving parents who suppressed your sensuous behavior even before you were out of diapers. As a child, your body told you that the pleasant sensations you felt when you caressed and stroked yourself were **good**. But your parents, guilt-ridden about their own sexuality, stopped you. Their stern message was loud and clear: "What you are doing is **bad**." You listened and obeyed.

Your natural impulse to explore your body was blocked. The whole pelvic region was marked "off limits" before you turned six. All the sensations associated with sex (and defecation) became surrounded with an aura of the forbidden--they became "dirty" and unmentionable. You learned that you should not talk about them or think about them.

With comments and looks, slaps and gestures, your parents pressured and punished you till nearly all signs of sexual life were dead. All was forbidden--masturbation, sexual discovery and play, fantasies, intimacy, touching, orgasm.

Parents tell girls that sexual enjoyment is something incidental to their reproductive function (if sexual pleasure is discussed at all). Much more care is taken to warn girls about the approaching trauma of menstruation and the dreadful possibility of childbirth if they should ever "lose control" or "give in" to their sexual urges.

Boys are not taught to repress their sexuality as strongly as are girls, but boys' erotic energy is deadened by being channeled into competitiveness and aggression.

Puberty is hell for both sexes, a time of constant sexual frustration, tension, secret masturbation, guilt, loneliness, and social awkwardness. As children develop into adolescents, the central message parents transmit is that sex is dangerous and harmful--rather than that it can provide gratification, pleasure, and choices. Parents set early limits on hours for dating. They attempt to program their children's lives so that as young adults they will refrain from the pleasures of their own bodies and those of others.

Parents' own ignorance of sex is vast. Because many parents are deeply dissatisfied with their own sex lives, the only way they know how to deal with their teenager's sexuality is in a negative, repressive way. The nonorgasmic mother vetoes her daughter's multiple options for pleasure. The bureaucratic father who has sex-on-schedule is suspicious of his sensuous and

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Save the children

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exploratory son. Bringing up children as sexual beings would help them grow into adults relatively free from misconceptions, fears, and neuroses. Instead, we expect a totally inhibited, "nice" child to evolve, as if by magic, into a sexually competent and mature adult. Foolish parenting sets the stage for the next generation's sexual failure and emotional confusion.

Parents can break the silence and negative associations surrounding sex. Most adults still have a compulsive need to see a baby as an asexual creature. It is not until they accept the child as a sensual being that they can provide adequate body intimacy--warm hugging, cuddling, nuzzling, patting.

Breast feeding, which is practiced by a small minority of American women, is a mutually pleasurable exchange. Yet, most mothers suppress the erotic nature of nursing. The eager, suckling baby is described as "cute" or "hungry"--but never as passionate. Mothers become embarrassed when their nipples grow erect at the baby's approach and rhythmic tugging at the teat arouses vaginal sensations.

Women invent all sorts of rationalizations for their decision not to nurse. Some mothers complain that breast-feeding is dirty, messy, uncomfortable, or embarrassing, a chore that can sap a woman's strength and wreck her body. Those mothers who do nurse tend to emphasize formulas and calories, while downplaying feelings of mutual pleasure. Thus, they deprive their children of a vital experience.

Parents should recognize and approve the child's sexual strivings and self-stimulation, just as they would any other healthy activity. Girls need to know that they possess sex drives as strong as boys' and that the satisfaction of these drives is just as important as it is for boys.

Even today, most children learn very little about sex except what they pick up from each other. Adults teach children how not to like sex.

Parents who are truly comfortable with their own sexuality will be able to anticipate a child's sexual curiosity and provide clear, forthright information. Sensible parents do not wait for a child's questions. They know that children absorb society's taboos all too soon, which block the natural flow of questions. The parents should be the ones to break the ice, not the child.

Children need to know that making love is enjoyable and that parents occasionally do so in order to have a baby. They need to understand how babies are conceived and born, without fairy-tale explanations. Parental lectures on the mechanics of reproduction usually ignore the crucial point that sex is pleasurable.

Prohibiting sex play does not stop it, but does drive it underground, leaving children to grope at each other anxiously in the dark. Such prohibitions wind up leaving parents in the dark about their child's developing sexuality.

The idea that children should be allowed to engage in sexual experimentation and even intercourse calls forth the strongest taboos in our society. But it should be recognized that these taboos mirror our society's basic attitudes toward sex. If we view sex as something

constructive and desirable, a person's birthright, then we will want our children to experience plenty of good, nourishing, healthy sex.¹² This is exactly how scores of cultures around the world view the matter.

Of course, not every kind of erotic experience should automatically be permissible. Children should never be forced or rushed into any experience for which they are not ready. Sex can be a vehicle for hostility, psychological abuse, and other negative attitudes. Adult-child sex, including incest, always involves a betrayal of trust and is destructive of the child's sense of self. The child's "consent" in incestuous interactions is engineered by the adult.

Young people are not free to experiment sexually. Just when their exuberant instincts are exploding and their personalities are unfolding, their normal sex energies are denied a regular outlet. Paralyzed by vague anxieties about their "reputation," teenagers are prevented from forming sexual friendships. Young people are told that they can only have "meaningful" relationships that are built on the assumption of permanency. This greatly limits the scope of their emotional/sexual learning opportunities during the years that should be rich in erotic and personal experimentation.

Parents who permit teenagers to have sex only in "meaningful" relationships--like "going steady" or marriage--prevent them from gaining the valuable self-knowledge and experience they need. Having numerous sexual friendships can help young people to discover who they really are. A young person will then emerge with a coherent self, as an individual who can make a real commitment to another.¹³

Sixty years ago, sex was permissible only in marriage. Thirty years ago, an engagement meant that sex was allowed. Now "going steady" is the rationale that makes sex permissible. Yet very few adolescents are psychologically prepared to make a lasting commitment at age 14 or even age 17. Intimacy is a learned set of skills acquired gradually in a process that continues at least into one's early twenties. Some people never get beyond adolescence; they continue to form self-serving, narcissistic attachments throughout their lives.

The children's rights movement, which took shape a few years ago, has as its goal a recognition that children are people with basically the same rights as adults. According to Dr. Mary Calderone, eminent educator and sex researcher, children's fundamental sexual rights include "the right to know about sexuality, the right to be sexual, the right of access to educational and literary sexual materials..."¹⁴

Children have the right to obtain all the facts about sex and to have their questions answered frankly. They should have access to any information that is available to adults. Sexual freedom for young people will be possible only when the restrictions created by the sexually uptight, ambivalent parents are removed. Girls should not be molded to fit the role stereotype of the passive, "feminine" woman, nor should boys be indoctrinated to fit the stereotype of the unemotional, dominant male.

A young person's right to sexual information includes access to all rele-



Photo by Mikell Zhan.

vant facts about birth control and sexually transmitted diseases. Such information is useless without access to equipment and materials. Socially acceptable ways must be found to provide young people with the contraceptives and protective devices they need.

Our pseudomorality is absurd. We teach children about birth control devices, but make it illegal for them to obtain them. More than one million teenage girls get pregnant every year in the United States; of these, over 270,000 become unwed mothers. Every new unwed mother means one more broken family. Some 500,000 girls--roughly half the total--miscarry or choose abortion. The rest marry hastily and are totally unprepared--emotionally or financially--to raise a child.

Teenagers rush into marriage because they are lonely, want to break away from their parents, seek regular sex and do not know how else to get it. Sexual ignorance among teenagers, leading to pregnancy, is a key element in the nation's cycle of poverty. The average American teenager has sexual intercourse eleven months before his or her first exposure to birth control information. The teenage pregnancy rate in the U.S. is the highest in the developed world.

Coaching girls to say "no" is neither a realistic nor effective way to combat the staggering number of teenage pregnancies. Nearly every young woman in this country will have had sex by the age of nineteen. Yet our society continues to punish young people for their sexuality. The government does not budget one cent for birth control information or contraceptives that would help reverse this national tragedy. A massive public education campaign is an essential first step.

Teenage girls are full of misinformation, as a recent Rockefeller Foundation study revealed.¹⁵ Among the most common myths girls believe is that they cannot become pregnant the first time they have sex, if they have sex only occasionally, or if they have it standing up. Only about one in three sexually

active American girls between ages 15 and 19 uses contraceptives.

Other countries adopt a far more realistic approach. In Sweden, where teenagers are sexually active earlier than their American counterparts, national curriculum guidelines ensure that every child receives adequate sexual instruction. Starting at age seven, every child gets a thorough grounding in reproductive biology, and by age ten or eleven she or he learns about the various types of contraceptives.

In the Netherlands, frequent TV and radio broadcasts discuss birth control and abortion, and young adults get private contraceptive counseling at government-sponsored clinics. No Dutch teenager would consider having sex without birth control. While sex education in American schools has met with growing approval, the overall effect of such courses has been to shift the responsibility for sexual enlightenment of children away from their parents. Another effect of these classes is to instill biases in the students. Teachers define sex as a heterosexual activity and emphasize its reproductive function. They link sex almost exclusively to marriage, blatantly ignoring the sexuality of single people, homosexuals, and others who do not fit the nuclear-family mold.

Our typical sex-education curriculum is designed to instill in students the middle-class ethic of postponement and absolute monogamy. These assumptions, which dominate nearly all sex education programs, put pressure on children to conform. Even in the best classes, the atmosphere is uptight, leering, sexist, and clinical. Many sex education classes turn into protracted sermons, with the teacher's innuendos and warnings meant to implant guilt and anxiety in students.

Genuine sex education for the young--in a supportive, exploratory environment--will be opposed as long as adults are themselves hostile to sex. People who have spent their whole lives in bondage learn to love their chains. They fear freedom and attempt to hand down their chains to their descendants.

To break this vicious cycle, practical sex education classes would be helpful. In her book *Sex Without Shame: Encouraging the Child's Healthy Sexual Development*, Dr. Alayne Yates, noted pediatrician and child psychiatrist, urges that sex education classes begin in kindergarten or nursery school. She recommends the use of anatomically correct dolls for girls and boys in free, unstructured play periods. Classes would include teachers' demonstrations with the dolls, as well as group discussions revolving around children's real sexual experiences. The teacher would focus discussion not just on how sex works, but how it feels. The role of the teacher would be to clarify misconceptions, provide acceptance, and offer encouragement.

Such a program would undoubtedly cause a scandal in today's climate. Genuine sex education, however sane and sensible it may be, is not likely to get far, given the current atmosphere of paranoia and repressiveness. An epidemic of child sex abuse cases and widespread fear of AIDS in the schools has added to the conservative backlash.

But real sexual freedom is a challenge we shall have to face sooner or later if we want a healthy society. The place to begin is with our youth, and with ourselves.

See "Notes" on next page

Notes to Save the children

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ies. Enemies are not allowed good or noble or neutral attributes. Their finest actions are ridiculed; evidence of their mercies are denied.

War demonstrates this. America fights goods and square heads, not people. This language upholds the accepted and discourages examination. It denies the words needed to explain. It seems not to listen.

And there is the problem of epistemology. Society sets up a model in its mind. The image of this model is triggered by catch-phrases: child-sex, molestation, pedophilia, etc. These words cause movies to run in the brain and society believes it understands because it's seen the film. But is this inner-depiction accurate? Does it reflect actuality? Is it tested against any standards? No.

Examination of observation of what is, is at odds with what the mind of many conjures. Fact doesn't mesh with belief.

In other issues *Girl Love* will go deeper with these thoughts and others. We will try not to be facetious or satirical (in this one column only) so we can minimize possible misunderstanding with any normal citizens who inadvertently stumble on this newsletter.

But you can surely feel the strain of the temptations in that last paragraph. Rest assured (or be warned) we will keep to our sneering and cynical style throughout the remaining portions of *Girl Love*.

There's nothing so passionate as a vested interest disguised as an intellectual conviction.

--Sean O'Casey

If parents would only realize how they bore their children!

--G.B. Shaw

Government revives *Wonderland*

Most readers [of *Girl Love*] know that David Techter's *Wonderland* stopped coming out after issue 13 in the spring of 1986. The details as to why are less known and much speculation made the rounds. And now, this past spring, *Wonderland* 14 has been published after a two-year absence. To clear up remaining confusion we will bring this story up to date. But be warned at the start that this issue 14 and any higher-numbered copies are products of the authorities and are put out to entrap the unwary.

David Techter was arrested in the last of May, 1986 on federal charges involving child pornography. This went back about 2 years to when a California man was advertising in David's newsletter as "Small Wonder." This man and his ads were offering some of the Japanese videos which were just becoming known in this country.

Small Wonder was quite paranoid and made arrangement for Techter to receive orders and moneys and relay them to be filled. It was some of these tapes that the government thought pornographic, and it was this arrangement the government considered selling.

But the federal charges were dropped in July, 1986, when a reviewing judge told prosecutors the films were not child pornography, and, therefore, there was no violation of law. David's problem then focussed on the state.

During his arrest David's apartment was searched and all correspondence, papers, and photos were seized along with such incriminating evidence as a typewriter.

A handful of the confiscated pictures were held to be child pornography and under a recent law their possession was a felony punishable by up to 10 years in prison. In addition David had less than a month to serve on his probation from an earlier sentence for selling child pornography. (Techter claims that was a setup and that law officers had to lie on the stand in order to convict him.) A conviction on the possession charges would also find him in violation of parole.

A trial was delayed because of the difficulty of getting evidence which was in the federal government's possession transferred to state hands. So David remained in prison until early February, 1987, when a state court ruled the law under which he was charged unconstitutional. This had happened earlier to a similar law in Ohio. David was released.

His intentions were to revive *Wonderland* at some point. A new federal law passed during the summer of 1986 made this impossible without substantial changes in format. It is now illegal to publish anything which advertises products or solicits for products, depicting child sex. David has been told this law even made the selling of back issues of *Wonderland* illegal.

The Ohio law against child-pornography possession has since been reinstated. The throwing out of the Illinois law greatly angered officials there and the lower court decision was quickly challenged. As of September, 1987, no opinion had come down. (We have not learned yet what happened in this case.)

But fear that it might and the belief that it would allow the condemned law to stand, prompted Techter to seek a home in another state. If the decision went against him he would have surely been recharged.

David's publication started out as the voice for his Lewis Carroll Collectors' Guild which was claimed to be an organization for collectors of nude pictures (but not pornographic ones) of preteens. Unfortunately, it degenerated into a hunting preserve for federal, state and local officials seeking publicity and funding.

A great number of ads were placed by police and all other ads were replied to by officers from around the nation. This was inevitable. David made little effort to warn his subscribers.

Wonderland provided a useful forum and it is missed. Yet it was dangerous. David lacked discretion where his subscribers were concerned and several got in severe trouble. This wasn't due to any direct action on David's part, but his too open attitude and willingness to spread the (everybody's) word brought much panic and some sadness. Would that he had learned to be discreet.

David's hope to again publish *Wonderland* was never realized. He died of a heart attack in Orlando, Florida in December 1987. He died alone in his apartment. When he was found on the floor he may have been dead for as long as two days.

The man had his bad points--many of them. He, in the final analysis, couldn't be trusted. But he wasn't a police agent as many suggested and he displayed a lot of courage in his publishing. On the whole we are less for his passing.

And so are several police authorities. Since there are now no pedophile publications left in which cops can try to trap the wily looker-of-naked-kid-pictures, they have had to produce their own. Unfortunately these upholders of decency seem to lack the creativity to do their own work and so have ripped-off *Wonderland* as a source for their new venture. And of course name recognition helps. And the cops also had some names of subscribers to start with.

If you have a *Wonderland* number 14 or higher, you are on a police list of suspected perverts. If you get literature wanting you to re-

ceive *Wonderland* it is from some police department.

All in all we are pleased with the sensitivity with which the government has handled this matter. It was damned decent of them to allow David to die before stealing his newsletter.

MacMartin Trial Continues

You don't hear much about Raymond Buckey and his mother and the MacMartin Pre-School scandals anymore. After all, this started over 5 years ago, and most of the headlines and cheap thrills were wrung from the story within the first year. When it got down to evidence and thoughtful consideration...well it was time to move on to AIDS or crack or whatever's in fashion this year.

The trial finally got started on July 13, 1987, and is still going strong. This was three and a half years after Judy Johnson brought complaints that Raymond Buckey had molested her 3-year-old son. The boy was "pre-verbal" in his development, and the mom was certifiably nuts, but this led to investigations, arrests, pre-school closings (7 in L.A.'s South Bay area), and a media frenzy that made it safer to swim with "Jaws" than to tread dry land.

Johnson had also accused her husband, an AWOL marine, an L.A. school board member, and 3 witches of doing naughty, sexual, and cruel things to her kid. She died a couple of years ago, but there are so many loonies in the case that her passing hardly makes a difference.

Kee MacFarlin Elias has been on the stand for the last 5 weeks or so explaining how she interviewed the kids who attended Peggy MacMartin Buckey's Manhattan Beach nursery school.

After Johnson's complaint, police saw fit to send a letter to parents of the children who attended the nursery school telling them their kids might have been molested and that to be sure they should take them to see Ms. MacFarlin (later Ms. Elias).

She and her staff interviewed 400 children and found that 350 had indeed been abused. If you missed the reportage of what happened then you were out of the country. The claims were so wild that a sober man knew this was all nonsense and truth would never be found. Underground torture chambers; Satanic rites with butchered bunnies and blood; Pornography--millions of stills and miles of video taken; trips in airplanes; and a thousand other insanities.

Of course no picture or film was ever found; no caves or trapdoors discovered; no buried bunnies and no trace of blood.

And it's become obvious that the children were led into inventing stories. They were given the information the interviewer wanted to hear back and rewarded when they did so. And they were punished and told they were stupid when they denied anything had happened. It's all on video! MacFarlin taped all the interviews. Even the prosecution felt the techniques lacked fairness and so dismissed charges against 5 of the original 7 defendants in early 1986. But some of the interviews looked convincing, they said, and so the county would continue with those charges.

Of course you ask 400 kids to make up stories and you tell them what you want the stories to say and of course they hear outside of the interviews what is going on and what the adults want to hear and then you give them Cabbage Patch dolls with horse dicks sewn on them and tell the kid to pretend, and you're going to get stories--some better than others with a few that are damned good.

CBS, which did a special, late-night show on MacMartin when the hysteria was highest, managed later to have second thoughts. They had seen the interviews and they had wondered how millions of pictures could be taken without one surviving, and they wanted to know where all this blood went and how come there were no trapdoors. They thought about how crazy the original complainant had been and why some prosecutors had quit the case because they couldn't support continuing and why hadn't Chuck Norris been arrested as he (and other well-known people) had been named by some of the children as being part of this abuse. The result was a segment on *60 Minutes* back in November, 1986.

That's where it stands now and there's no firm end in sight. The county's spent \$10 million on this case and if they lose (unfortunately quite likely, though who knows) they will wind up spending 10 times that defending themselves. That's one reason for their continued efforts.

But one important discovery has emerged from the buffoonery: Interviewers of children now know not to tape themselves. MacFarlin doesn't do it anymore for fear of "misunderstandings."



Biocentrism:

ideology against nature

by Mikal Jakubal

That humanity is somehow "out of balance" with nature is hardly a topic of controversy nowadays. There is little question that humans are fouling the world to the point of suicide for us and mass extinction for all other life. To claim otherwise is ludicrous. In a variety of ways, people have attempted to grasp the problem, define it and seek solutions. Of the many new and more faddish results, few have been as popular as "Deep Ecology"--a.k.a. Biocentrism--the view that humans are acting out of excessive human-centeredness ("Anthropocentrism") and thus destroying the planet and the rest of the species which have just as much "intrinsic right" to live out their biological destiny as we do. Accordingly, Biocentrism (life/earth/nature-centeredness) calls for a new way of acting. Specifically, it calls for "earth-centered" activity and thinking: putting the "earth first" (instead of putting ourselves first) as a way out of the global dilemma.

In the following rant, I wish to take a critical look at these assertions and show them for what I believe to be false, misleading and even counter-productive. I don't mean this to be a sermon or some statement of absolute truth. No way! What follows is, more than anything else, just my initial attempt at deciphering and understanding the relationships between some types of ideas and activity that I've discovered to be true to the best of my experience. The points I take on here and their broader implications have been of central importance to many of the great disputes and inconsistencies within what can loosely be called the "radical ecology movement." Hopefully, my efforts here will help to encourage further discussion.

According to its proponents, Biocentrism is nature-centered living. It therefore must be premised on an irreconcilable separation of humans and nature. This is so because if humans were inherently natural beings--i.e. an equal part of nature, fully integrated into the natural flow of life--then to be human-centered (anthropocentric) would also imply being nature-centered (biocentric). But Biocentrism has already been defined by its practitioners to be the opposite of Anthropocentrism. So according to Biocentrist thought (nature-centered philosophy), humans are irredeemably estranged from nature--or were never part of it in the first place--because "human" is posited as the opposite of "nature" (Anthropocentrism vs. Biocentrism). Oddly, Anthropocentrism implies the very same thing. If Anthropocentrism is human-centered living and this is the opposite of Biocentrism or nature-centered living then once again, "human" and "nature" are opposite and therefore separate. It is a

contradiction to say that two positions which are identical are, in fact, opposite. I will try to resolve this dilemma by going outside of what is common to both Biocentrism and Anthropocentrism--ideological thinking.

Ideological thinking is false consciousness. In other words, it is ideas and activity which originate elsewhere, outside of our own emotional and intellectual subjectivity, our identity. Ideology is when we mistake others' thoughts for our own or when our own thoughts become rigid and fossilized and those thoughts come to control us--instead of the other way around. Marxism, all religions, guru-cults are all very clear and obvious examples of ideological (non)thinking. The politically correct, sacred or official line is what one must adhere to. These ideas and demands on our activity originate not out of our own needs or desires, or our ideas or personal lived experience or community, but from outside of us, externally to us. Other examples of ideological (false) activity include: all political ideologies, "causes" (doing things for "the cause" instead of for our own needs), consumerism (externally created wants and preferences) and philosophies ("I'm an Existentialist"--an example of self-definition in someone else's terms).

Both Biocentrism, and its necessary companion, Anthropocentrism, are ideologies. They both place external demands on our thinking and activity. Biocentrism differs from, say, Marxism, Christianity or the Moonies only in content. In form it is identical. How it differs is that it demands that we act, not according to the politically, morally or guru-determined correct line, but to the "naturally" correct one. "Nature"--or an abstract, overruling **idea-of-nature** replaces the guru, Bible or Party doctrines. There is no room in any of these (or any other ideologies) for the vagaries of human wildness, independent thought, activity or desire--or nature. All thought and activity is pre-scribed, determined externally to our human need, desires. At times we may agree with something that is also part of an ideology. But at this point, if it is truly no longer ideological, no longer external, no longer false consciousness, then we need not invoke the label, category, guru, or other "authority" to justify our ideas and activity. In other words, instead of saying "according to the Marxist doctrines..." or "The Bible says..." or

"Deep Ecology says...", we would say "I think that...", "I've noticed that...", "I feel that...", or "I'm doing this because..." In this case--authentic, subjective ideas and activity based on our constantly changing needs and desires and always personally checked out against our own everyday lived experience--we can defend and explain our ideas and activity with arguments and examples that we know to be true because we've thought about or actually experienced them. (This has been called "theory"--more on that later). In other words, we can claim our ideas as our own.

When we are in the grips of ideological (non-)thinking and (pose-)acting we cannot do this because the ideas are not our own--we did not think, feel or experience them for ourselves. (Ideology, in this way, is administered thought, directed action as opposed to direct action--more on that later.) Therefore, we cannot argue, explain or justify them ourselves. Instead when someone opposes or challenges our ideology, we must put them into a category--i.e., label them as "other"--and draw a line around them defining those ideas as "other." The label (authority, justification) of the ideologist is then used to justify evasion of any challenge. Some examples are "That's just Marxism...", "That's Violence, we follow the Nonviolence Code...", "She's a Humanist..." Thusly, any challenge to an ideology can be dismissed as that of an "outsider" in the eyes of the Party faithful who will all nod their heads in agreement at how clever the ideologist is.

Earlier I referred to "theory." Theory is (to clearly define it at least for the sake of this discussion) the opposite of ideology. Ideology is inside-out theory. In ideological activity, the motivations come from without. With theory, motivations come from within, from our own **subjective** ideas, experiences, longings and needs. Thus theory can also be called "self-theory." Most people today are walking around inside-out, motivated and directed by a myriad of things--anything but themselves. Theory is never static, never rigid. Our theory, if we fail to constantly evolve it and test it against our experience and new information, quickly fossilizes into ideological thinking.

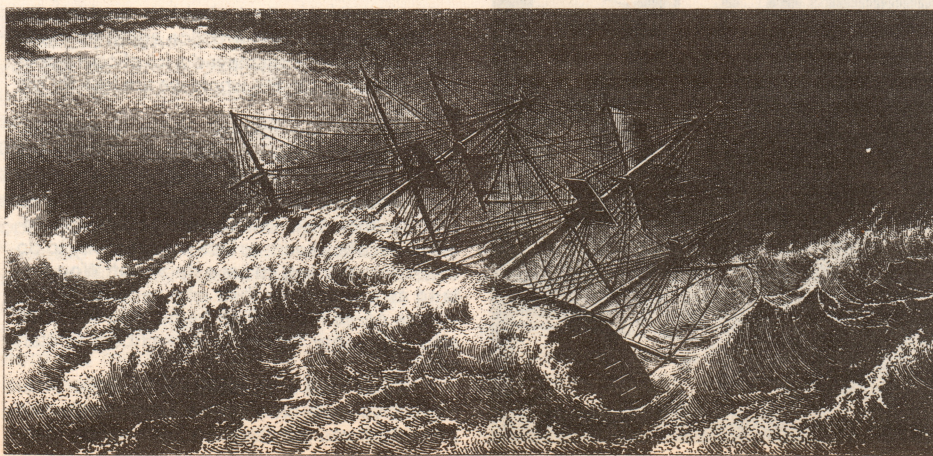
When we base our activities and ideas on our self-theory, we can clearly see what the actuality behind new information is and choose to take or leave

whatever we want. The self-theorist skips and dances through the great supermarket of ideology, tearing open every package, scattering the contents and appropriating what seems good and nourishing and discarding the rest. The ideologist shops carefully, or even perhaps on impulse, looking for just the right fit of pre-packaged ideas to take home and consume wholeheartedly--after paying at the register of course! Ideologists often are brand switchers. They'll stick with one package of (non) thought only until the next one in a shinier package comes along and lures them in. Other ideologists maintain a lifelong brand loyalty!

In the earlier discussion about ideologists using labels to evade challenges, we can say that the self-theorist can easily see--and see past--ideological boundaries of the opponent by watching for examples of ideological thinking such as statements like "Deep Ecology says that...", "Marxism says that...", "Gandhi would've said that..." The person under the influence of an ideology, a false consciousness, on the other hand, having constructed these barriers, cannot see out. It has become a wall, a real barrier to advancement, a very unradical thing to do.

Note also that just as the ideologist isn't the originator of his/her ideas, so s/he neither claims credit for them (e.g. Biocentrism says...). But here is another example of how the ideologist is mystified. Doctrines, ideologies and the like do not **themselves** talk and so it is wrong and misleading to say "Biocentrism says..." Who is Biocentrism? When we begin to ask such questions, we can peel off layers of mystification and confusion like the skin of an onion until we can see what lies beneath: Actually Biocentrism doesn't say anything. Actual people do and say things such as "Biocentrism this and that...", not some mystical Biocentrism force or creature. It's important to uncover the real source of the ideas we hold so they can be fully evaluated on their actual content and meaning. If we then really do agree, then we can say "I think this and that..." and the ideas will no longer have control over us. We will control the ideas. Beware the dangers of attributing concrete activity and thinking to abstract concepts or doctrines or slogans.

In response to attacks, the person who engages in ideological thinking and activity simply builds higher and bigger walls. To continue this imagery for a moment longer, we can see that eventually the ideologist will be overwhelmed by the theorist who, being free to think, evaluate and rove around, will eventually find the cracks and weak spots that will bring the whole thing down with little effort. Imagine a guerilla group with a radical self-theory challenging a monolithic state military force under the grip of a rigid chain of command (external control, ideology). This whole preceding discussion has obvious relevance for anyone engaged in direct subversive resistance--or think



they are: ideology creeps up where you'd least expect it. But you can draw your own conclusions on that....

I've tried to present a fairly clear and simplified (if not simplistic...) picture of what ideological activity is, how it operates and how it can limit us. I've tried to contrast that with theory, a better way to understand the world and think and act. What I'll try to do now is explain how ideology is the death knell of radical change, of humanity, of nature and of the earth and wilderness. I showed at the very beginning how Biocentrism (an ideology, a category of Nature-ally correct thought and activity, a label used to discredit opposing views, an external source of ideas and action, an authority) is premised on the view that humans are separate from nature and act out of human-centeredness (Anthropocentrism) and this is what is destroying the earth. But I also showed that the apparent **opposites** of Biocentrism and Anthropocentrism both in fact mean the **same** thing. I said that this dichotomy was resolvable by breaking out of **ideological** forms of thought. This is what I mean.

I'd like to start with this assertion: Humans are not separate from nature. Our "nature" is that which is most "natural" to us--our deepest needs, desires, dreams, internally defined ideas (self-theory), our emotional wants and expression, our wild, animal instincts. Our human nature is our wild, free animal instinct and subjectivity. This is what is **most natural** and also what is **most human** about us since these qualities arise **naturally** and from **within us**. "Human" and "nature" are not contradictory, mutually exclusive terms.

Both Biocentrism (life/nature/-earth-centered) and Anthropocentrism (human-centrism) mean the same thing, yet one is defined as being opposed to the other. They both are ideologies. They both are external, packaged thought for consumption and directed action. Both have adherents who purport that the ideology must be allowed to do the thinking for us and that we must act out of motivations it prescribes. Ideological thinking requires that we relinquish our desires, our unpredictability, our ability to change and adapt and submit them to the category, label, doctrine, guru, Bible or, in the case of Biocentrism, to an abstracted Nature; **an idea of nature**.

When we relinquish our desires and wild animal instincts, we are relinquish-

ing what is most **natural**, what is most **human** about us. Ideological thinking (false consciousness, since the thoughts and actions are not our own) is the enemy of nature. It is the enemy of humans because it deprives us of what makes us human--our human nature, our wildness. All authority--since it is ideological, externally imposed--is the enemy of nature and wildness. All domination and obedience kills nature in us, deprives us of our natures by depriving us of our humanity, our dreams, desires and wildness.

This is the mistake of claiming to act or think in the name of something external to us--whether it be Biocentrism, Marxism, Nonviolence, the Cause, America, Deep Ecology or an **abstracted idea of Nature** itself. These all kill our unruly, natural wild humanity. To say we are thinking or acting for Deep Ecology of the Earth or Nature or the Spotted Owl is to act for reasons external to us. To do this we must submit our desires to these ideological forms of thought, we must suppress our wildness, individuality--our nature. What a bizarre circumstance, to be risking injury or imprisonment to defend an **idea of nature** while killing the **real living nature** in ourselves! Of course, if you are doing/thinking those things for yourself and not killing wildness, not killing nature, not involved in ideological activity, then there is no reason to invoke these labels as justifications. Be able to say: "I'm doing this out of my own desires for wildness, for my own human nature (or whatever)." And herein lies the way out of the contradiction.

Both Biocentrism and Anthropocentrism are ideologies and therefore anti-nature. If we act out of Biocentrism we are actually killing our nature, **not** being nature-centered. If we act out of Anthropocentrism, we are **not** acting out of our own human-centered desires and wild animal instincts. We are acting out of ideological demands. So, Biocentrism is anti-nature and Anthropocentrism is anti-human! So they are both anti-human and anti-nature.

So, big deal? But this becomes critical when we see that it is this same mode of self-denial, or self-repression of wildness that allows us to do anti-human activity and anti-nature activity of this society. Biocentrism (and all ideologies), therefore, reinforces this precondition, reinforces our domestication. The actual daily activity, the domi-

nant mode of human existence on the earth today is **mislabelled** by the Biocentrists. It is not Anthropocentrism, not human-centered. It is not done to meet human needs, not done as a result of the fulfillment of wild human desires. This activity is done to fulfill the "needs" of power and capital, nation-states and commodity-exchange, the whole military-industrial-national-empire. It should rightly be called production-centered or power-centered or Death-centered since we must kill our wild natures to be part of it. Our daily activity is done to keep this "Machine" running. This Machine is what is devouring the earth, nature, wilderness and humanity. To work in the entrails of this "leviathan" requires that we submit all our wildness to the "needs," schedules and routines of it. On a daily basis, this is how we individually kill our desire for our nature, our wildness. To do this, to suppress our own wild, human, animal instincts, we must put on successively thick layers of emotional "armor" to protect ourselves from the pain of a murdered nature trying to break through. Like asphalt and herbicide to keep the wild plants from destroying the roadbed, this armor must be constantly added to or it begins to fall away.... This armor can also be thought of as the **internalization** of the Machine, its logic and schedules. Eventually the armor can be mistaken for what it is suppressing in the same way that so many people today mistake concrete, machinery and media images for the real world. This is the success of the system, the goal of our education, the triumph of Domestication over Wilderness.

It is only such armored beings, domesticated humans who have internalized the Machine, that would engage in self-destructive/nature-destructive activity. Herein lies the danger of all modes of ideological (pseudo-)awareness and activity (of which Biocentrism is but one of many, many....): By encouraging us to follow that which is external to us, that which negates our own **human** wildness and desires, these ways of thinking and acting **help build our emotional armor against nature!** They encourage self-repression and domestication. Ideology causes us to further distrust our wild natural instincts to be free. In this way, we are more able to destroy the world while at the same time we are that much less able to transcend and break free from

this very mode of destructive behavior.

What is needed is a subjective, critical, internal-human-nature-centered type of "self-theory" that helps us peel away the mystification surrounding our relation to ourselves, our world and our daily activity. We need to see domestication and the suppression of wilderness and freedom clearly and without illusions before we can begin the wild, liberatory celebration of our nature, the creation of planetary wilderness and the pitiless annihilation of everything which stands in the way.

Reprinted from Live Wild or Die #1 (POB 411233, San Francisco, CA. 94141).

The Papalagi

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starts the deepest knowledge only the Great Spirit knows about.

To enter that realm of knowledge is impossible for the Papalagi, and even his best magic eyes have up till now been unable to penetrate there. The Great Spirit doesn't allow being robbed of his secrets. And he never will. Never did anybody succeed in climbing higher than the top of the palm tree. He always has to turn back because there is no more trunk to climb. The Great Spirit is also displeased with the curiosity of the people and therefore he covered everything with endless vines. That's why everybody that goes on thinking, will find out he remains stupid and must leave the answers he cannot find with the Great Spirit. The smartest and bravest Papalagi admit that to themselves. Most of those thought-pervers are still impossible to cure from their delusions and so it happens that people are often led astray by their thinking, like a man running in circles through the jungle, leaving no tracks. They break their heads and it really happened that they couldn't tell the beast from man anymore. Saying that humans are animals and that animals are human.

That's why it is so dangerous to throw all those thoughts, right or wrong, on the many papers immediately. They are printed, the Papalagi says. That means the thoughts of many sick people are written down, even aided by a mysterious machine with a thousand hands and the strength of many chiefs. And not once or twice, no many times. Many, many times, always the same

Continued on next page



Last year, *Fifth Estate* published a critique of Deep Ecology which included criticisms of certain people who use the slogan "Earth First!" This has led to a fairly intense dialogue. As I have read this dialogue it has become clear to me that most people—including those who call themselves EF!ers—aren't really sure what EF! is.

A number of letters and one article ("Live Wild or Die"—The Other Earth First!, *Fifth Estate*, Vol.23, #3) attempted to show that EF! was not monolithic, that it was a movement rather than an organization. Yet the writers of these pieces spoke of "what EF! actually does" and, in the article, of EF!'s "split personality"—as though EF! were indeed a single entity, a monolithic organization. To clear this up, it is necessary to figure out just what EF! is.

There is an EF! that is an organization. This is what Mikal called the "centralized personality" of Earth First! in his FE article. This EF! consists of the editorial staff of the national paper and the "stars" of EF! They create a major portion of the public image of what EF! is all about. And their recent right-wing Malthusian ravings have not helped that image one bit.

There is another Earth First!—however that EF! is not a movement. The real movement is an anti-authoritarian, anti-industrial-civilization, pro-wilderness movement, and people of *Fifth Estate* are as much a part of that movement as anyone else who chooses to use the slogan "Earth First!" To claim that a slogan creates a separate movement with an inside and an outside defined by the use of the slogan is a mystification. As Mikal said in his article, the defining quality of a movement is that it *moves*. Everyone who is active in any way in opposing civilization and striving to expand wildness is participating in that movement and needs to criticize any part of that movement that is stifling the liberation of wildness.

So what do I think Earth First! is?

Beyond Earth First! Toward a feral revolution of desire

by Feral Faun

It is a slogan around which some people rally. Just what this slogan means and why people need it as a rallying point needs to be examined.

"Earth First!," the slogan is a simple, two word proclamation of biocentrism. Biocentrism is an ideology, an attempt to claim that we can act from a basis other than our own needs, desires and experiences. We cannot put earth first. When we claim to do so, we are only putting our concept of the earth first. Robert Anton Wilson and Timothy Leary have both claimed to have connected with the consciousness of the universe and have used this claim to justify their vision of paradise as a horrendous, sterile techno-topia, saying that is the "natural course of evolution." I share a vision similar to many EF!ers, but their claim to know the earth's will is false consciousness, ideology, and all ideology is a threat to wildness.

Why do people so distrust their own instincts and desires that they have to create false consciousness to justify themselves? Why do they need to claim that they are doing what they are doing because they put "Earth First!"? Civilization, with its need to suppress whatever is wild, has taught us to distrust our instincts and desires. It needs to do this in order to channel our wild energies into the domesticated activities of work and commodity consumption—the activities that are destroying wildness everywhere. So the best thing we can do for wildness is to let our own wildness break free by trusting and acting on our own instincts and desires. To be trapped in the ideology of a slogan is to chain our radical consciousness and to stifle our movement.

By equating the slogan with a movement, speaking of the movement as a monolithic being that acts on its

own, defining participation in the movement in terms of use of the slogan rather than people's activities, the image of EF! as an organization is created whether such an organization actually exists or not. The Tucson crew reinforces this image by creating a visible bureaucracy, but even without them the image would exist because EF! is spoken of in organizational terms even by those who claim it is not one. So an image has been created which the media can use to create a good guy/bad guy scenario. And thanks to Foreman, Abbey and other EF! stars, the image of a monolithic organization of crackpot, racist eco-terrorists is becoming dominant. Give the press a name and claim that it represents a single movement and they will see an organization there. And when even those who claim that Earth First! is not a monolithic organization speak of it in monolithic, organizational terms, can anything else be expected?

To summarize my thoughts:

- 1) The slogan, "Earth First!" needs to be left behind because it reflects false consciousness. We always act from our own needs, desires and experiences. When we recognize that in terms of our radical activity, we free that activity from any ideological constraints.
- 2) The slogan needs to be left behind because it has created an image that allows the media to manipulate the public's conception of those who act in the slogan's name.
- 3) The slogan needs to be left behind because it is associated with the redneck, macho, racist posturings of Abbey, Foreman and others.
- 4) The slogan needs to be left behind because it creates the image of a movement whose only basis is the use of that slogan, creating an insider/outsider

dichotomy that allows "insiders" to write off the criticisms of "outsiders" without giving them much thought.

5) It needs to be recognized that the actual movement, of which those who use the slogan, "EF!" are part, is a movement to save what is wild from civilization. Many of us who have criticized the ideology that has been associated with EF! are active participants in that movement, so our criticisms are not those of outsiders.

6) It needs to be recognized that "Earth First!" is merely a slogan, a rallying cry. It does nothing concrete. Individual people, acting separately or together, are the ones doing things of actual significance. In order to avoid the image of being a monolithic organization, we have to be careful to make this clear.

We need to go beyond the false consciousness of the idea, Earth First! and recognize that only by setting our own wild instincts and desires free can wilderness be saved. Ours is a revolution of desire, a feral revolution. We do not do it for anything supposedly greater than ourselves; we do it for ourselves. So, come on, anarchic adventurers, let's go wild!

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The Papalagi

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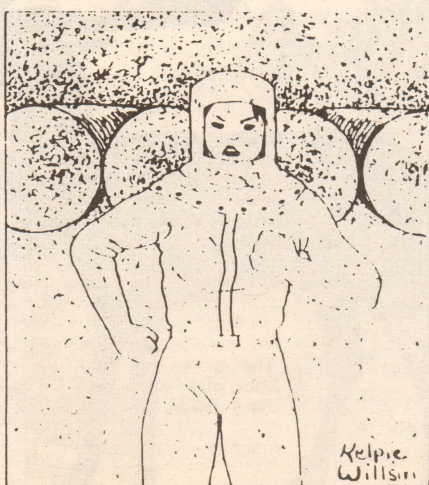
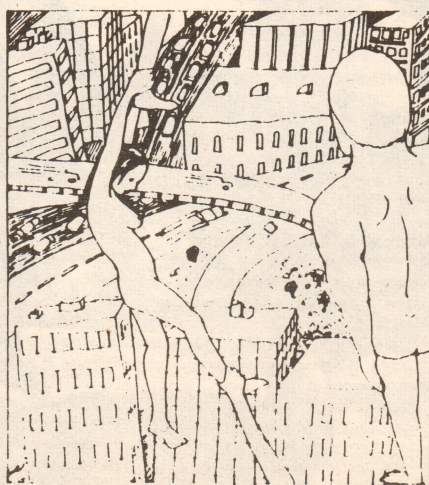
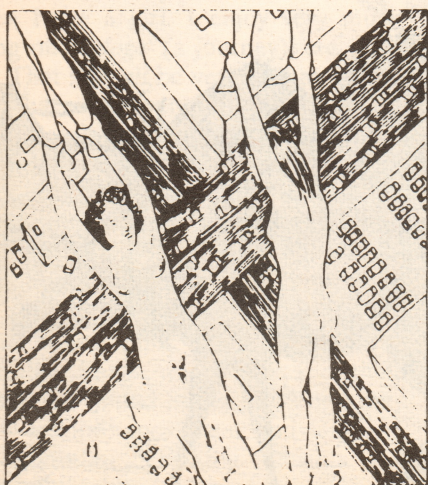
things. Many mats covered with thoughts are pressed together in small bundles. The Papalagi call those "books" and they are shipped off to all parts of the country. And everybody that absorbs the thoughts is infected. And those mats full of thoughts are devoured like sweet bananas. They are in every hut, boxes are completely stuffed with them and young and old nibble at them, the way a rat nibbles at a sugar cane. That's why so few people can still think normally about the things of nature, like every Samoan can.

In the same manner, as much thought as possible is crammed inside children's heads. They are forced to digest a certain amount of thought-mats every day. Only the healthiest throw up those thoughts again immediately or let them sink through their brain as through a sieve. But most of them overload their heads with thoughts, so that no spot is left open and not a ray of sunlight can enter anymore. That is called "education" and is a very widespread thing.

Education means filling the head to the brim with knowledge. An educated man knows how high that palm tree is, the weight of a coconut, the names of all his big chiefs and how many wars they have made. He knows everything, everything. When you ask a question to an educated man, he will shoot the answer right back at you, before you can close your mouth. His head is always loaded with ammunition, always ready for a salvo. Every European uses the best part of his life to transform his head into a rapid firing cannon. He who tries not to cooperate, is being forced to do so. Every Papalagi should know and should think.

The only way to help those thought-patients in throwing away their thoughts, is forgetting. But they don't teach that and so hardly anybody can do it. Most of them carry so many thoughts inside their heads that it tires their bodies and makes them weak and wilted before their time.

And now, my beloved non-thinking brothers, do you really feel the need to imitate the Papalagi and to take up thinking like them? After all the truths I told you? No! I say to you. Because we may and must do nothing that doesn't make our body stronger and our senses more refined. We must be wary of everything that wants to rob the pleasures of life, of everything that darkens our spirit and takes away the bright light, and of everything that separates mind from body. With their way of life, the Papalagi prove that thinking is a dangerous disease that decreases the value of mankind.



Progress? by Kelpie Willsin

reprinted from *Live Wild or Die* (POB 411233, San Francisco, CA. 94141).

The Badguy Report

Nurturing the calm
Opening my heart

Four years, changing ever-changing, gone last year, here this spring in mid-Missouri. Still becoming a self-loving person, more in touch with what I want, I bask in this serenity. A comfortable connection with these people I run into, buried in my consciousness and safe. The quietude that comes with a sense that others are just like me and do not need to be at all like me. When I think about anarchy these days I wonder: Can this image of ultimate liberation become an excuse for our own intolerance? I feel sad and distant from this anarchy which unfolds as a way of avoiding the integral intimacy which begets mutual-ity, respect, affection. I am starting over in Missouri, and maybe I'll make it more meaningful this time.

I returned here to practice my trade, finish my degree and be with my friends. I want all the good things of life. There's much more than money in the work I do for money. I learn and grow and am proud of what I accomplish. Still I want better credentials so I have greater choice over where and when I work--and I want more money for my time.

That's right. I no longer believe in the ascetic ethic which has been a tenet of the left since--does anybody out there know since when? It's been as if the only alternative was to place material wealth above all else. Either/or thinking...but no more.

I want to buy the material goods to create the life I want. Things I might have rejected with smug disdain in my hippie days. Maybe a late-model used car. I know all the reasons I "shouldn't." Yes we could create a society where gasoline-powered vehicles would pass into history as (pick one) no- or appropriate-technology ascended. But in the meantime, how will I get to town when I want? I'm just plain tired of not being able to go where I want when I want. If this "self-serving" attitude bothers you, well send your cards and letters folks, maybe we can talk!

A second imperative of the left which I no longer cop to is the belief that activism should be a continuous process. Passivity in the face of all the catastrophic problems of the world is denounced as "apathy." Well sometimes I truly care and sometimes I truly don't. I just don't have the capacity to feel for this planet and its inhabitants day in and day out, much less act on this awareness. I don't want to be a social activist right now. My priorities are to focus on other goals. Being a high-profile public figure--especially a controversial one--takes its toll. A certain invisibility, just being with people who are intimate, nurturing, open-hearted, and accepting of differences and disagreements--that's where my sights are.

I also want time and energy for my companion and lover. Donovan sang it so well: "Freedom is a word I rarely use without thinking...of the time...when I've been loved."

The Judaic commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" made way for its equally insidious opposite. "Thou shalt not commit (to) monogamy." Once I got in touch with what I wanted, what felt comfortable and authentic, I was able to commit to someone I love. I feel fortunate to share this commitment.

My great hope remains the same--to create community, to bring about change in the quality of everyday life. Does this mean I will be working with other anarchists? I'm not sure. Too many anarchists have been too intolerant, too difficult to get along with, too self-righteous or stubborn to work with others. Sometimes I have thought that people often call themselves "anarchists" as a way of blinding themselves to authoritarian dimensions of their personalities (and when this defense mechanism isn't enough they steel themselves as "anti-ideological anarchists").

I am an anarchist. But after twenty years of calling myself that, I find I'm not very interested in the anarchist press or movement. I am interested in imagination, creativity and community. And for now I'm listening, learning, loving, laughing and laying low.

Yours for a song!

Badguy

Explore the
labyrinth of desire!

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Anarchy #1 (4pp., xeroxed) [January 1980] Contents include "Pigs will be pigs," and a short story, "Ausma," by Badguy.

Anarchy #2 (4pp., xeroxed) [March 1980] Contents include "Drifting toward World War III" by Sea @.

Anarchy #6 (12pp., tabloid) [August 1985] Contents include "U.S. lies about Nicaragua," a story by William Cottrell, "Mother Love," a section on "Native American News" (with news on Big Mountain, Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks), and a reprint from the *Fifth Estate*, "Star Wars--1st strike; U.S. plans Death Star."

Anarchy #7 (12pp., tabloid) [September 1985] Contents include "South Africa: the resistance continues," "Pornography & female sexuality" by Diane Dekay, "Eros denied: a culture against untouchables" by Julian Noa, and "In defense of Young Lust" by Jay Kinney.

Anarchy #8 (12pp., tabloid) [Oct./Nov. 1985] Contents include "Julian Beck: a memory" by Badguy, "The daily battle" by Freddie Baer, "The Abolition of Work" by Bob Black, and "Where have the radicals gone" by Lev Chernyi.

Anarchy #9 (12pp., tabloid) [Dec. '85/Jan '86] Contents include "Foreign Policy," a tale from *Neutron Gun* by Gerry Reith; "Cooperation

is anarchy," a discussion between Jason McQuinn, Al Messner, Jai Noa, and Allen Butcher; and "The Plague (Central America)" by Julian Noa.

Anarchy #10 (12pp., tabloid) [Feb./March 1986] Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi" by Tuiaivili of Tiavea, the 1985/86 revision of the Columbia anarchist league's *As we see it*, and "Storybox" by Jai.

Anarchy #11 (12pp., tabloid) [April 1986] Contents include "A history of the Anarchist Black Cross," "The Papalagi" (part 2); "The politics of reality" by Lev Chernyi; "The Federal Programme of the West German Greens--Part I," "The Badguy Report--The Club Dekrept bust: two years after," "Ecology as ideology: *Ecological Politics and Bioregionalism*," a review by Lev Chernyi; and "Winning hearts and minds," a story by Gerry Reith.

Anarchy #12 (12pp., tabloid, plus the 12-page Summer '86 *Gentle Anarchist* included as an insert) [Summer 1986] Contents include a report on the "Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering" by Lev Chernyi, "Radical movements confront apartheid in South Africa," "The Papalagi" (part 3), "Let us prey! Smash the state!" by Bob Black, "Notes on playing for keeps" by Alf Sprack, and "The Badguy Report--Two fuckups; Badguy's and Betsy's."

Anarchy #13 [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp., tabloid) [Fall/Winter 1986] Contents include "What in the hell is government?" by Cliff Harper, "The Badguy Report--Shantytown lives," "The Papalagi" (part 4), "The bioregional vision--far-sighted or myopic?" by Lev Chernyi, "Theses on libertarian municipalism" by Murray Bookchin, "A summer place" by Kerry Thornley, "Reagan's drug war" by Kurt Nimmo, and lots of letters.

Anarchy #14 (28pp., tabloid) [Summer 1987] Contents include "Anarchy in Greece, Part 1" by Lev Chernyi, "The Papalagi" (part 5), "The Badguy Report--Is punk dead at KOPN?," "Vagaries of negation" by John Zerzan, a review of "Noam Chomsky's *Turning the Tide*" by Lev Chernyi, "Intervention in Vietnam and Central America: Parallels and differences" by Noam Chomsky, "Harmonica Vengeance" by Lev Chernyi, and more letters.

Anarchy #15 (32pp., tabloid) [Winter 1988] Contents include "Give chance a piece," "Propping up the cities: a review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*" by John Zerzan, "Feyerabend's *Against Method*" reviewed by Larry Giddings, "The Papalagi" (part 6), "The realization and suppression of religion" by Ken Knabb, "Anarchy & religion: a dialogue" (including "Anarchism or religion" by Fred Woodworth, "Religion and anarchism" by Jay Kinney, "The sacred

& the profane" by Lev Chernyi, "Freedom and religion" by Jay Kinney, and "Between concept and reality" by Lev Chernyi), and more letters.

Anarchy #16 (32pp., tabloid) [Summer 1988] Contents include "Native American guerrillas in Colombia," "Rabl Rousers protest in Minneapolis," "Working Girls: A review" by Lev Chernyi, "Lizzie Borden on *Working Girls*" (excerpt from an interview by K/O), "The Papalagi" (part 7), "A note on biocentrism" by Lev Chernyi, "Realizing desire" by New Rage, "A boring night out, circa 1975" by Lev Chernyi, "My life in the porn biz" by Holly, "Pornography and pleasure" by Paula Webster, "Anarchy & religion--the dialogue continues" (through letters), "Gnosis and esoteric spirituality: a review of Jay Kinney's *Gnosis Magazine*" by Lev Chernyi, and many more letters, columns, news and discussion.

Anarchy #17 (32pp., stitched) [Fall/Winter 1988/89] Contents include "Stumps Suck! on the Okanagan" by Mikal Jakubal, "Notes from the California Earth First! Rendezvous" by Lev Chernyi, "Anarchists riot in Athens," "Disturb@nce" (a letter from Greece), "Chaos and anarchy" by Kansas Slim, "Why *Working Girls* doesn't work" by Bill Blank, "The Papalagi" (part 8), "The point of no return for everybody" (a review of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal* and John Zerzan & Alice Carnes' *Questioning Technology*) by Lev Chernyi, "Who killed Ned Ludd?" by John Zerzan, "The freedom of biocentrism: a poem" by Lone Wolf Circles, "If nature abhors ideologies...biocentrism is no exception" by Lev Chernyi, "Anarchy & religion--the dialogue continues" (including "The quest for the spiritual" by Feral Faun, "Ten theses toward the end of the flesh-spirit dichotomy" by Feral Ranter, and more letters), the first installment of "The nihilist's dictionary" (on "Nihilism") by John Zerzan, and many more letters, as well as more news and reviews.

Anarchy #18 (32pp., oversized/stitched) [March/April 1989] Contents include a "Report on the Oct. 17th Pentagon action" by Paul Simons; reviews of Jeremy Rifkin's *Time Wars* by Maria Mitchell, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall's *Agents of Repression* by Toni Otter, and Kent Winslow's *Dream World* by Lev Chernyi; "Current controversies concerning the annual continental anarchist gatherings" by Lev Chernyi; "The Papalagi" (part 9); an excerpt from "Bigger cages, longer chains" by Spectacular Times; "An introduction to critical theory" by Lev Chernyi; two reactions to the Toronto anarchist gathering's "Day of Action"--"This time we retaliate!" reprinted from *Ecomedia* and "An open letter on the 'Day of Action' by Boog; a continuing discussion of "Biocentrism vs. the critique of ideology" between Feral Faun, Lone Wolf Circles, and Lev Chernyi; a continuing discussion on anarchy and religion; columns including "On unions" by Interrogations, "The nihilist's dictionary" (on "Technology") by John Zerzan, "A's for attitude," and "The return of the Badguy report," along with many more letters, news from Greece, more alternative press reviews, and prison news from Project 1313.

Anarchy
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Columns

Interrogations for the Human Community
*Nation, state...or
human community?*

The state (that is, the organized separation of men into masters and subjects of power) has always depended on the notion of territory. And this notion of territory has always corresponded for different exploiters to the necessity of both confining their subjects--their slaves--to a given territory, and of marking out space with their eventual enemies in order to signal that at such and such a point all men, animals and plants belong to them and no one else.

The whole notion of nationalism relies on myths that grew out of the sedentariness and stasis of communities in a particular area: myths of a homeland, myths of the foreigner, the alien...myths that limit and mutilate a global vision of the world. The development of market relations, at first determining and then dissolving the hierarchical or communitarian relations through which men's dependence on or cooperation with each other was expressed, never threatened this reliance on territoriality, since in fact the formation of nation-states and the myth of the fatherland are really the direct result of the development of capitalism. While recuperating both the limits and the aspirations of earlier communities, capitalism installs the value not of real community but of the image of a community as symbolized in the sickly fetishizing of national heroes and the flag. The increasingly impersonal character of relations between men is then accompanied by the invention of community-as-destiny which serves to mask the divisions between antagonistic social classes; this permits capitalism to rationalize its domination by imposing on its officials and administrators--themselves divided by competition in the marketplace--a unity corresponding to the ultimate interests of the state as the guardian and manager of social relations in general, protecting them against the potentially corrosive influences of the marketplace.

Despite the fact that the domination of capitalism protects itself behind national frontiers, it nonetheless is dependent on the tendency for market relations to spread across the world, and on the imperialist drive to conquer, unify and if necessary construct markets for itself. Colonization, world wars, the development of new poles of accumulation and the constitution of new nation-states were all stages in this process. In the contemporary era, market exchange tends to make life all over the world increasingly uniform; education, city planning, food, information, all become more and more similar everywhere. What local color is still safe-guarded only functions as a kind of commercial gadget complementary to the generalization of exchange. On the other hand, nationalism and xenophobia develop exactly to the degree that man's rootedness in and awareness of his own environment is correspondingly degraded and deteriorated.

It's time to dump these old notions of territory, state, nation and fatherland. The problems that humanity faces are global problems. They can only be resolved by the action of a world-wide human community totally shattering all its national and international shackles. This presupposes the abolition of nation-states and of money, the expressions of competition and exploitation.

With men no longer held prisoners behind national borders, they would be able to travel wherever they wanted, when they wanted for however long a time they desired. The only collectivity would then be that of a human community organized according to egalitarian principles, which would obviously take the form of particular collectivities, but where humanity would no longer wear the nationalist blinders it wears today, since it would be understood that on the one hand the differences existing between communities would no longer amount to obstacles to their opening onto the outside, and on the other that it would be possible to join with and participate in such and such community without one's birthplace acting as an obstacle to one's integration into that community.

Reprinted from *Interrogations* (c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France).

Feral Revolution
by Feral Faun

Author's introductory note: This column is an attempt to summarize how I view my revolutionary project. It is very general and doesn't deal much with the practical. Future columns will expand my ideas by looking at different aspects of domination, practical ideas for undermining civilization and creating free life, and explorations into just what it means to go wild.

When I was a very young child, my life was filled with intense pleasure and a vital energy that caused me to feel what I experienced to the full. I was the center of this marvelous, playful existence and felt no need to rely on anything but my own living experience to fulfill me. I felt intensely, I experienced intensely, my life was a festival of passion and pleasure. My disappointments and sorrows were also intense. I was born a free, wild being in the midst of a society based upon domestication. There was no way that I could escape being domesticated myself. Civilization will not tolerate what is wild in its midst. But I never forgot the intensity that life could be. I never forgot the vital energy that had surged through me. My existence since I first began to notice that this vitality was being drained away has been a warfare between the needs of civilized survival and the need to break loose and experience the full intensity of life unbound.

I want to experience this vital energy again. I want to know the free-spirited wildness of my un-repressed desires realizing themselves in festive play. I want to smash down every wall that stands between me and the intense, passionate life of untamed freedom that I want. The sum of these walls is everything we call civilization, everything that comes between us and the direct, participatory experience of the wild world. Around us has grown a web of domination, a web of mediation that limits our experience, defining the boundaries of acceptable production and consumption. Domesticating authority takes many forms, some of which are difficult to recognize. Government, capital and religion are some of the more obvious faces of authority. But technology, work, language with its conceptual limits, the ingrained habits of etiquette and propriety--these too are domesticating authorities which transform us from wild, playful, unruly animals into tamed, bored, unhappy producers and consumers. These things work

in us insidiously, limiting our imaginations, usurping our desires, suppressing our lived experience. And it is the world created by these authorities, the civilized world, in which we live. If my dream of a life filled with intense pleasure and wild adventure is to be realized, the world must be radically transformed, civilization must fall before expanding wilderness, authority must fall before the energy of our wild freedom. There must be--for want of a better word--a revolution.

But a revolution that can break down civilization and restore the vital energy of untamed desire cannot be like any revolution of the past. All revolutions to date have centered around power, its use and redistribution. They have not sought to eradicate the social institutions that domesticate; at best they have only sought to eradicate the power relationships within those institutions. So revolutionaries of the past have aimed their attacks at the centers of power seeking to overthrow it. Focussed on power, they were blind to the insidious forces of domination that encompass our daily existence--and so, when successful at overthrowing the powers that be, they ended up re-creating them. To avoid this, we need to focus not on power, but on our desire to go wild, to experience life to the full, to know intense pleasure and wild adventure. As we attempt to realize this desire, we confront the real forces of domination, the forces that we face every moment of every day. These forces have no single center that can be overthrown. They are a web that binds us. So rather than trying to overthrow the powers that be, we want to undermine domination as we confront it every day, helping the already collapsing civilization to break down more quickly--and as it falls, the centers of power will fall with it. Previous revolutionaries have only explored the well-mapped territories of power. I want to explore and adventure in the unmapped, and unmappable, territories of wild freedom. The revolution that can create the world I want has to be a feral revolution.

There can be no programs or organizations for feral revolution, because wildness cannot spring from a program or organization. Wildness springs from the freeing of our instincts and desires, from the spontaneous expression of our passions. Each of us has experienced the processes of domestication, and this experience can give us the knowledge we need to undermine civilization and transform our lives. Our distrust of our own experience is probably what keeps us from rebelling as freely and actively as we'd like. We're afraid of fucking up, we're afraid of our own ignorance. But this distrust and fear have been

Columns

instilled in us by authority. It keeps us from really growing and learning. It makes us easy targets for any authority that is ready to fill us. To set up "revolutionary" programs is to play on this fear and distrust, to reinforce the need to be told what to do. No attempt to go feral can be successful when based on such programs. We need to learn to trust and act upon our own feelings and experiences, if we are ever to be free.

So I offer no programs. What I will share is some thoughts on ways to explore. Since we all have been domesticated, part of the revolutionary process is a process of personal transformation. We have been conditioned not to trust ourselves, not to feel completely, not to experience life intensely. We have been conditioned to accept the humiliation of work and pay as inescapable, to relate to things as resources to be used, to feel the need to prove ourselves by producing. We have been conditioned to expect disappointment, to see it as normal, not to question it. We have been conditioned to accept the tedium of civilized survival rather than breaking free and really living. We need to explore ways of breaking down this conditioning, of getting as free of our domestication as we can now. Let's try to get so free of this condition-

ing that it ceases to control us and becomes nothing more than a role we use when necessary for survival in the midst of civilization as we strive to undermine it.

In a very general way, we know what we want. We want to live as wild, free beings in a world of wild, free beings. The humiliation of having to follow rules, of having to sell our lives away to buy survival, of seeing our usurped desires transformed into abstractions and images in order to sell us commodities fills us with rage. How long will we put up with this misery? We want to make this world into a place where our desires can be immediately realized, not just sporadically, but normally. We want to re-erotize our lives. We want to live not in a dead world of resources, but in a living world of free wild lovers. We need to start exploring the extent to which we are capable of living these dreams in the present without isolating ourselves. This will give us a clearer understanding of the domination of civilization over our lives, an understanding which will allow us to fight domestication more intensely and so expand the extent to which we can live wildly.

Attempting to live as wildly as possible now will also help break down our social conditioning. This

will spark a wild prankishness in us which will take aim at all that would tame it, undermining civilization and creating new ways of living and sharing with each other. These explorations will expose the limits of civilization's domination and will show its inherent opposition to freedom. We will discover possibilities we have never before imagined--vast expanses of wild freedom. Projects, ranging from sabotage and pranks that expose or undermine the dominant society, to the expansion of wilderness, to festivals and orgies and general free sharing, can point to amazing possibilities.

Feral revolution is an adventure. It is the daring exploration of going wild. It takes us into unknown territories for which no maps exist. We can only come to know these territories if we dare to explore them actively. We must dare to destroy whatever destroys our wildness and to act on our instincts and desires. We must dare to trust in ourselves, our experiences and our passions. Then we will not let ourselves be chained or penned in. We will not allow ourselves to be tamed. Our feral energy will rip civilization to shreds and create a life of wild freedom and intense pleasure.

A's for Attitude

The suppression of children's sexuality

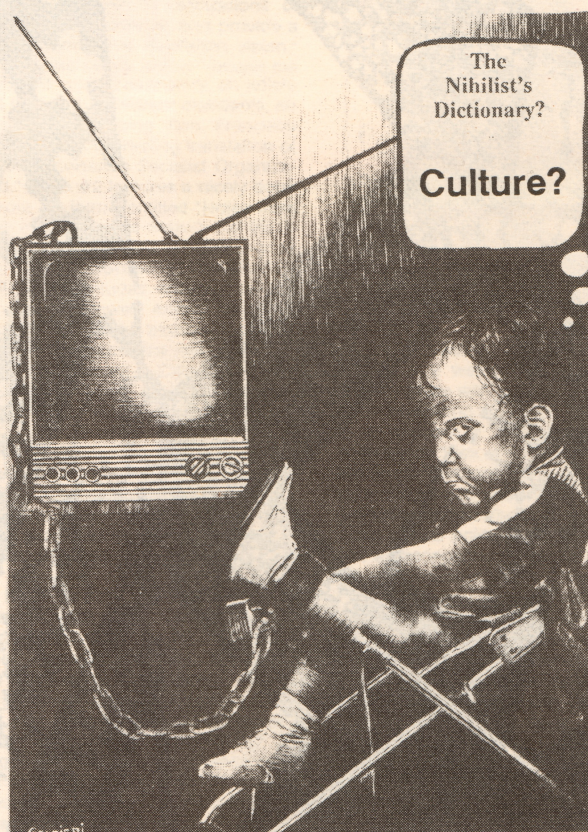
A recent story in the New York papers dealt with a sting operation involving illegal material. This material was so-called "kiddie porn" videotapes, magazines, books, etc. A great deal of preparation was put into catching the consumers of these products, which are described as exploitative of children. Massive attacks against sexuality have never reached the heights of the attack and suppression of children's sexuality, which in the world's predominant cultures is almost universally considered a sad manifestation of external adult pressure. This pressure is evident throughout society; it does not discriminate on account of age. Like many other things, this sexual conditioning is only suitable for adult audiences. We worry about the kids getting hurt, while the adults wind up in divorce court. What are the hypocrisy and the contradictions here and what is the real concern all about?

Children undermine the concept of adulthood everyday. Through constant conditioning, we are taught to respect the actions of "adults," or older people in general, simply because they have reached a legal age of majority or because some adult has decided that he or she will recognize a minor as an adult. The actual mentality and actions of a person are often not even considered. A child therefore waits to become an adult, to finally receive respect and to be given their right to make decisions for themselves. Therefore it is in the adult's best interests to think they are in some way more responsible, wiser people than children, otherwise they would have to admit that adulthood, as a concept, is a sham.

Playing along with their long awaited superiority over children, adults delude themselves with all sorts of grandiose ideas and try to exercise control; a substitute control for that which they lack in their own lives. Since sex has been mystified to the point where it's become a reward for adulthood, this must be denied to children. But sexuality exists from early life, and all sorts of problems can arise from its repression. The practice of teenage sexuality has quite recently in our history been a victim of a hysterical crusade against it, its mistakes and faults being thrown around in a fury. But it's the adult world that denies its children information about their own biology and forces them to rely on the experience and education of others equally in the dark about these matters, causing most of these problems to begin with. The emotional involvement of children with people who treat them as equals, usually their peers, is trivialized, a reaction which draws them more into their own stratified world. Their search for love leads them to a search for sex and their search for sex leads

them to a search for love.

Yes, children can be exploited in any number of ways by adults and by each other. But sexuality does not cause exploitation, exploitation causes exploitation. Denying children their free choice to behave as they see fit is setting up an attitude that they will carry into adulthood: that their actions must be legitimized by authority. If we desire that all people be responsible enough to peacefully co-exist in this world, it's time to start with trust.



The Nihilist's Dictionary

by John Zerzan

Cul-ture (kul-cher) *n.* Culture is commonly rendered as the sum of the customs, ideas, arts, patterns, etc. of a given society. Civilization is often given as a synonym, reminding us that cultivation--as in domestication--is right in there, too. The Situationists, in 1960, had it that "culture can be defined as the ensemble of means through which society thinks of itself and shows itself to itself." Getting warmer, Barthes remarked that it is "a machine to showing you desire. To desire, always to desire but never to understand."

Culture was more respected once, seemingly, something to "live up to." Now, instead of concern for

how we fail culture, the emphasis is on how culture has failed us. Definitely something at work that thwarts us, does not satisfy and this makes itself more evident as we face globally and within us the death of nature. Culture, as the opposite of nature, grows discordant, sours, fades as we strangle in the thinner and thinner air of symbolic activity. High culture or low, palace or hovel, it's the same prison-house of consciousness; the symbolic as the repressive.

It is inseparable from the birth and continuation of alienation, surviving, as ever, as compensation, a trade of the real for its objectification. Culture embodies the split between wholeness and the parts of the whole turning into domination. Time, language, number, art--cultural impositions that have come to dominate us with lives of their own.

Magazines and journals now teem with articles lamenting the spread of cultural illiteracy and historical amnesia, two conditions that underline a basic disease in society. In our postmodern epoch the faces of fashion range from blank to sullen, as hard drug use, suicide, and emotional disability rates continue to soar. About a year ago I got a ride from Berkeley to Oregon with a U.C. senior and somewhere along the drive I asked her, after talking about the '60s, among other things, to describe her own generation. She spoke of her co-students in terms of loveless sex, increasing heroin use, and "a sense of despair masked by consumerism."

Meanwhile, massive denial continues. In a recent collection of essays on culture, D.J. Enright offers the sage counsel that "the more commonly personal misery and discontent are aired, the more firmly these ills tighten their grip on us." Since anxiety first sought deliverance via cultural form and expression, in the symbolic approach to authenticity, our condition has probably not been this transparently bankrupt. Robert Harbison's *Deliberate Regression* is another work displaying complete ignorance regarding the fundamental emptiness of culture: "the story of how enthusiasm for the primitive and the belief that salvation lies in unlearning came to be a force in almost every field of thought is exceedingly strange."

Certainly the ruins are there for everyone to see. From exhausted art in the form of the recycled mish-mash of postmodernism, to the poststructuralist technocrats like Lyotard, who finds in data banks "the Encyclopedia of tomorrow... 'nature' for postmodern man," including such utterly impotent forms of "opposition" as "micropolitics" and "schizopolitics," there is little but the obvious symptoms of a general fragmentation and despair. Peter Sloterdijk (*Critique of Cynical Reason*) points out that cynicism is the cardinal, pervasive outlook, for now the best that negation has to offer.

But the myth of culture will manage to survive as long as our immiseration fails to force us to confront it, and so cynicism will remain as long as we allow culture to remain in lieu of unmediated life.

Letters



We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to continue this dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to **Anarchy** will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper—as in the case of an author of an article in **Anarchy**.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. Please limit length to two single-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to **Anarchy**, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you!

Healing the planet

Dear Destroyers of State Goofiness,

Thank you for keeping the faith. I am writing to emphasize a point which your staff and readers seem already to be aware of, but which (I think) cannot possibly be emphasized enough. The point is not only that collapse is inevitable (this has become almost a truism in anarchist circles), but that this collapse is ecological. All the arguments about politics, intervention, sexism, racism, etc.-isms, are nonsensical against the looming backdrop of a dying Earth. I would urge all of you with nothing better to do to devote your entire lives to healing this planet. And I can guarantee you, you've got nothing better to do.

What we need to do is to develop a movement with its feet on the ground rather than on the shoulders of anachronistic theorists who are now largely theorists. We need farmers, not circus performers; get off one another's shoulders and grab a hoe.

I am not worried about the survival of the planet, but rather its residents (including us). I suggest that this planet is a Stone Phoenix and will recover from anything we do to it, but most likely will rid itself of us in the process.

I would further suggest the reading of four books which, taken together and believed, point the direction which is needed in crystal clear, unmistakable script.

Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television by Jerry Mander, Quill, 1978.

The Primary Source by Dr. Norman Myers, W.W. Norton, 1985.

The Gift of Good Land by Wendell Berry, North Point Press, 1981.

On the Loose by Terry and Renny Russell, Sierra Club, 1969.

Fellow ranters, give up comfort and reach for ecstasy. May your hair grow long in these future winds of change. Looking forward to meeting all of you on, and beyond, the barricades.

In mutual aid and grace,
T.W. Montag
POB 6462
Brattleboro, VT. 05301

Verbose & predictable

Dear Lev,

You are welcome to run the notice for "Medium" [see page 2, "The anarchist scene," in the last issue] using the wording you suggest.

I now bite the hand that feeds me & say I did not much like the most recent issue of **Anarchy**. In brief, it seemed verbose & predictable: rather an matter of the whole being less than the sum of

its parts, as the article by M. Jakubal on the Okanogan occupation was excellent, as were his other contributions; it was good to see Zerzan's article on Ned Ludd's demise again; the note on drug use among prospective cops was interesting; Bill Blank's review of *Working Girls* was crisp & witty, Blank Frank's letter was included, & it seems like your graphic sense sharpens with each issue.

So why this sense of distaste overall? Perhaps because the discussion of religion seems interminable; I really can't understand the interest you and others take in this topic. My father was a minister and I was a theology major in college, so maybe it's the sense that I'm still not all that far from where I started. Maybe too it's a

matter of sensing a distinct orthodoxy here: modern life bad, primitive life good, so that the form of ideology remains even though of course ideology too is decried as "bad." At any rate, as per Nietzsche, anarchism seems increasingly nothing more than the most extreme expression of modern decadence.

Could it be the real scandal is the absence of authority and the fundamental falseness of anarchists their maintenance of the contrary illusion?

For provocation,
D.T., Virgin Gorda,
British Virgin Islands

Nice and meaty

Yo comrade,

Greetings. Enclosed find 3 dollars for a copy of **Anarchy** #16 and a copy of #18 when it comes out. **Anarchy** is becoming nice and meaty these days, and your high graphic standard is commendable. I'm enjoying the continuing debate on religion. I consider myself an atheist pagan, so I get much of value from both "sides" of the discussion. Well send them issues along and as Bob Marley said: "Don't geep op dee fight."

D.W., Altadena, CA.

Breathe the air

Dear **Anarchy** readers,

Always remember to breathe in the air around you to form a personal point of reference. The world is a horribly over-intellectualized place. Don't worry if you can't find a theory to explain your actions. Liberation comes in all sorts of forms. Who cares if you can't call it anarchy.

One more thing. When I hear talk of no government, no institutions, etc., I think of something that needs to be constantly renewed. Otherwise, it's like one of those revolutions where one tyrant replaces another.

I'd love to hear from anyone about anything.

Thanks for your time,
Keif
1601 Pennsylvania N.E.
Q-S
Albuquerque, NM. 87110

One more thing

Dear C.A.L.,

We're just writing about some information that your little flyer (As we see it!) had said was available for the asking. It was listed as

"Beyond Character and Morality," and "An Introduction to Critical Theory." We have sent along an SASE for each of them. We would greatly appreciate it if you would send them if you have any left. Oh, one more thing. We just wanted to tell you that your paper is the best. We love it. And thanx for your hard work.

J. & J., Salina, KS.

Anarchist psychic

Folks,

Please send me one copy each of #'s 15 & 16 of your publication **Anarchy, a journal of Desire Armed**. I'm particularly interested in your debate on "Anarchy & religion." I'd be interested in any subsequent letter &/or commentary you've received...

As an anarchist for over 20 years (we were even reprinted in **What are Anarchists Thinking**) and a psychic, I'm quite aware that awareness of oneself as spirit doesn't preclude political thought & action. I'm also aware that many religions deny an individual's spiritual reality in order to propagate a party line & maintain a power base, just as many governments do. I do see, though, that if



by T.E. Roche Wheaton, 1988

FREEDOM IS SLAVERY.



Letters

one denies one's own spiritual nature just because one disagrees with the subjugation of that spirit by a particular power group, one takes another step away from personal freedom & responsibility. I am an anarchist, politically, philosophically, & spiritually. I won't go on and on.

Thank you,
M.F. (formerly of **More to Come**),
Santa Cruz, CA.

Very refreshing

Hello,
...I like your publication a lot, it's very refreshing to not see dogmatic and overly rhetorical slogans everywhere like:

"WORKERS UNITE AGAINST CAPITALISM!" or "REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES' POWER FOR POPULAR LIBERATION."

Things like that sound dogmatic leftist.

Well, enclosed is three dollars for 6 issues [Note: subscriptions are now \$6/6 issues]....

Thanks,
S.S.

Ps. Please do not print my address or town. The town is very small and I would be an easy candidate for sticking out due to what I already receive at my PO Box.

Coherent discussion

Dear Anarchy,

I saw some of your issues in Toronto last summer and thought very highly of them. I'd like to subscribe...enclosed are some of our posters for the Black Rose Lecture Series here in Boston.

Take care/keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,
P.C., Boston, MA.

Ps. Your paper had the most coherent discussion of anarchism & religion I've seen so far. Hope to see some of you at S.F. or some other continental event.

Break the rules

Dear Anarchy,

To censor our sexual & excretory (human waste elimination) function "dirty" words from school, media, business, family, religion or politics is obscene. True freedom of thoughts or mind requires no laws/rules against the free-flow of ideas/words concepts/experience & feelings expressed openly. Anti-sexual censorship anywhere is a moral-war on & against the natural human body attention & care. Our bodies don't need cuss-words to be healthy or happy or free, unless we're afraid to tell truth. Fear of sex or waste words or sounds (farts, vomit, orgasm, spitting, crying, etc.) makes us afraid to do these natural functions absolutely needed for a natural healthy life in balance with energy flows.

Now who gives the FCC, church or schools the rights & power to limit or punish our "bad" words? Those who define evil, sin & wrong like to blame us more free than they are afraid to be very natural. Censoring words is the first step to stopping the behaviors (sexual & elimination) from happening in childhood from

diapers to toilets, clothes & underwear, to cars, homes & military for protection from nature. The conservative paranoid tax-paying power holders censor in the name of god, goodness & decency, called peace, law & order to protect their children. Just like most sex-education in public schools strong emotions are ruled out in families, churches, business & public, so we fear craziness. It's OK with me, but it keeps the teacher-believers & cop-fearers caught in anti-germ-fears & moral values/prejudice favoring the nuclear family, self-control & government depending on sexual repression & fear.

Anti-sexual laws & customs are the root of our western aggression & war-making cultures since the Greek & Roman empires using heady top-down power. Our high-tech cultural beliefs & habits, fears & violence (competition) support & need anti-sexual family life of unconscious needs for & fears of parents & authorities, which submits to laws & the experts.

So long as peace-workers, activists & alternative families & seekers ignore the sexual needs & repression (withholding feelings) in cities & country the true causes of war, hate & crime won't be understood or transformed in our communities. All the FCC (rules), media-owners & officials need to do is mildly threaten to clamp

down or punish dirty-word users & whoa the liberals get scared (of parents?) & compromise honesty before any trouble.

Where's the radical & natural freedom work & play awareness of energy patterns going if we get upset or scared of confronting the beast of fear, arrest & punishment threatening our established operations?? Getting persecuted happens when we really change our front, break the rules & be free emotionally strong. Dare to risk rejection or threats so controversial yet necessary to stay free growing in honesty & joy. Our deep instincts demand us to express feelings now without blame, that may shock people, like nudity or screaming. But we need truth now as much as clean-air, pure-water, loving-touch, open-spacing, free-emoting to be clear & creative. Don't let those big distant daddies frighten us from reflecting reality as deep as soul & struggle for total freedom here now.

Mycall Sunanda
POB 1064

Kurtistown, HI. 96760

Public enemy?

Anarchy,

I had some questions that I thought you might be able to contribute to my understanding on. I first heard of a rap/funk group

called Public Enemy last summer when I saw them described as "racists" by the sickening Rolling Stone (who recently pictured white supremacists in front of a circle-A backdrop w/o comment). Anyway I dismissed it as just another racist attack in itself against active/revolutionary blacks. With songs and performances on issues of police/FBI violence, prison fights, and against crack I figured they deserved attention and compliments in their efforts to closely link their art with their political feelings. After listening to their songs, which are very gripping and powerful, I realized that with their open idolatry of L. Farrakhan aside (which may explain it all) their lyrics weren't so much descriptive of our shit society (spatial deconcentration, austerity measures, general widespread police terror) as thundering "revolution, revolution" and drawing all attention to themselves. Their concerts are surrounded by a string of big uniformed guys in camo uniforms and with fake Uzis called "security of the first world," "S1W." And when they describe police violence they describe it against themselves only, and when they describe everyday misery they never mention anything like capitalism or exploitation, only that "brothers" (aren't I a brother of theirs? I've got 5 fingers and am a fellow victim) are being hurt and that they should

"build the nation." Reading of the Russian Revolution I notice how the Bolsheviks as a tight little gang were able to impose their horror vision on peasants and workers, who were busy creating a revolution, through a variety of ways including attracting revolutionary spirit, transforming it into gang idolatry, and the use of heavy armed force. Have you gotten any kind of idea of the effect of these hip Islamic Qaddafiites on direction of activism in cities? Polarizing races, continuing patterns of authoritarianism and submission, squelching or distorting visions and desires of freedom, revolution, and anger, any ideas?

Peter Kalberer
c/o S.I.T., Kipling Rd.
Brattleboro, VT. 05301

Ps. As add on to my letter anybody with ideas or experiences with the group or Islamic nationalism in general please write.

Semantic headaches

Fellow Dreamers of freedom,

Thanx for putting out an excellent publication. A friend of mine who still lives in Columbia recently gave me several back copies and I really enjoy reading them. My only criticism is sometimes the semantics is (are?) a little heavy causing me further headaches (which I don't need, Uncle Sam's Miserable Circus provides me w/more than my quota). As I search through Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (another good source of headaches for anyone w/masochistic tendencies) for their meanings.

I plan on subscribing at some point in the future when I can provide you with a permanent address to send the subscription to.

Please feel free to edit this letter as needed for spelling and punctuation. I have been at work since 7 this morning. It is now almost 1 a.m. And this page is blurry. Good bye.

Live long and prosper,
C.V., Slave, USMC.

Ps. I am enclosing some poetry you might enjoy. It is enclosed entirely gratis. Thanks again.

Tired aching bones
Resting far from home
Cigarette ashes fall
Into nothing at all
Another lonely day
Spent wasted away
Slaves

To the rulers
Of Amerika

Feeling freer

Dear Anarchy,

Enclosed is ten dollars for a subscription at the regular individual rate and a little more to help out.

I really feel freer today for having read issue #17. It's a great feeling and a useful coalescence of a lot of freedom of thought which is so rare in America today where the bourgeois tag game is played, and all others disallowed by internal propaganda. Glad to finally get free of it. Learn to rely on yourself and see truth.

Eat the Rich,
R.B., Eureka, CA.

NUCLEAR MADNESS... VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN...RIGHTIST MURDER IN EL SALVADOR ...LEFTIST FASCISM IN POLAND

Today there is a sharp escalation of issues that call for our protest. There is no doubt that these outrages must be ended.

Our everyday, unspectacular confinement is also very much "at issue"--and is not necessarily confronted by responding to apparently separate affronts to decency.

Basically indecent is selling our lifetimes away to purchase survival, a proposition that is everywhere losing its appeal. It may even be that militancy over pressing issues is the last, best diversion from what lies beneath all the issues--the emptiness of daily routines.

One yawns in the face of a professor, shoplifts instead of paying, is unable to face another day lost at work...It is impossible to be fully diverted from paycheck/price-tag captivity. We are steadily assaulted by it and try to draw away.

The social order becomes more palpably oppressive. All the marches can't cover it up.

Be Free, POB 11331, Eugene, OR. 97440

Letters

Paranoid authority

Hello Anarchy,

What I want to say is both a question and a suggestion. I'm trying to figure out why I never find Elias Canetti mentioned in anti-authoritarian literature. If you haven't read his book, *Crowds and Power*, you should. I'm convinced it is an anti-authoritarian classic, as much as any book ever written. He's been recognized as a genius for a long time and won the Nobel prize for literature in 1981. But hardly anyone seems to apply what he says to relevant situations. What he seems to be describing is paranoia as a social condition.

If you saw Kubrick's movie *Full Metal Jacket* (another classic) you have an idea of what he's describing. The drill instructor in the movie represents authority. The new recruits represent the masses, and the character nicknamed "Gomer Pyle" represents the scapegoat. Gomer Pyle is a fat, stupid, naive recruit who keeps fucking up. He threatens the leader's authority. The authority has to keep him in line by disciplining him. The authority by example provokes fear in the recruits. He humiliates Pyle showing what might happen if they get out of line. He eventually turns the recruits against Pyle. Since the recruits cannot reply to authority, they transfer their hostility to the scapegoat. Here social paranoia encompasses the whole group. The guy at the bottom is literally under siege and powerless. Those in the middle are fearful but have an outlet for their hostility and the security of being one of the mass. The authority is the paranoid self realized—corrupt with power he can dominate the group and destroy the guy at the bottom. This phenomenon can explain a lot of things. Hatred creates a paranoia which spreads like a virus from persons into groups. Authority needs an enemy to maintain itself. It needs to make ritual sacrifice to instill fear in the masses and keep them in line.

Kubrick seems to have put Canetti's ideas into a relevant context. The drill instructor says, "The more you hate me the more you will learn." Pyle becomes literally paranoid and finally shoots the drill instructor and himself. In the end the central character Pvt. Joker kills a dying Vietnamese woman. He finishes by saying, "I am no longer afraid." He has found release for his hatred and the scapegoat is now Vietnam. Kubrick also shows that this process has been refined to what Ellul called technique.

Canetti shows that the ruler is little different from the paranoid. The paranoid is filled with fear, he feels everyone is out to destroy him; in turn he hates everyone else and seeks to destroy them. That was Hitler's condition; he used Jews as a scapegoat. He turned the whole society against them, filling them with fear and hatred of the Jews. It begins with Hitler being beaten as a child (by another victim no doubt). He becomes paranoid, turns on the world and spreads hate like a virus.

In this way we can analyze individual problems and social problems as part of the same phenomenon. Childhood or other trauma creates fear-hate which

needs to find an outlet. A perpetual cycle of victimizing-victimization-victimizing. Think of how this relates to your life and your social relations. It can be used to explain everything from Arthur Bremer to world imperialism. Authority can be any authority or victimizer, the masses any society, the scapegoats any victim. Think of how this relates to rape.

I read in the *San Francisco Chronicle* recently that in Iran the authorities are arresting women without veils, picking them off the street and putting them in jail where they are repeatedly raped, then sometimes executed. Authority needs to sacrifice the bad veiled woman to keep everyone else in line. "This is what will happen to you if you're bad," it says. This explains authority's traditional hostility towards rape victims, "You asked for it." By controlling women's sexuality they also keep the men in line. Men have to conform to societal norms to "win the good woman."

It seems to me Canetti's contribution to understanding societal power and control is as significant as Freud's understanding of the subconscious. (Not that I agree with all of Freud's theories.) Canetti has done an exhaustive study without once mentioning Freud and he's not in the bibliography. This was obviously deliberate, he lacks Freud's authoritarianism. He is showing us a new way to view our problems, both personal and societal. I'd be interested to know what you think of him and his contribution to human emancipation.

Sincerely,
J.G., Boulder Creek, CA.

Lev responds

Thanks for letting us know about Canetti's work. I, for one, hadn't heard anything about him before. It sounds to me from your brief description that he's been able to formulate his own partial theory of authoritarian

relationships, and there is certainly room for many metaphorical descriptions of this phenomenon.

It doesn't sound like he's unearthed anything terribly new and different however, if this is what you're thinking. Many people have described the personal/social/institutional aspects of authoritarian relationships using a variety of different metaphors. If his effort is successful in helping more people understand the social dynamic involved in these relationships, I will applaud his work. Though I have a feeling (from your description) that he leaves out some very significant factors that ought to be taken account of in any theory which aims at some sort of relatively complete and whole understanding of our social situation—things like the function of alienation, ideology, sexual/sensual repression, commodity-exchange, etc. in our society.

Though a total critique is extremely important (essential, in fact), it is always wrong to think that any one metaphor or any one partial theory (e.g. anarchism, Marxism, feminism) can ever adequately describe, much less "explain," all the various manifestations of our social problems. We have used the idea of alienation (in our *As we see it!* pamphlet) as a general concept under which other more specific partial theories can be grouped in order to attempt to describe our situation in an integrated way. But what an overarching concept like alienation gains in its application to an extreme diversity of situations, it loses in its ability to portray essential details which fall outside of the metaphorical powers of its more abstract uses. Canetti's description of authoritarianism as a function of paranoia may be very useful as one of several "second-level" theories that might help flesh out one's more general critique of alienation (or whatever other central concept is used for one's total critique).

EN BASKETS OU EN LATIN
**LA RELIGION
NIE L'INDIVIDU**

sexualité condamnée...
cinéma incendié...
spectateurs agressés...
appels à la censure...



REAGISSONS.
Fédération anarchiste
145, rue Amelot 75011 PARIS

What King George Says

"It's sweet and it doesn't have any of that stuff they spray on the apples."

—George Bush (on why he drinks carrot juice)
Newsweek, March 27, 1989

He ought to know,
head of a government that
okays carcinogens on
our apples, grapes, and
other produce.

Friend of Uniroyal, which makes Alar.
Buddy of the fruit and vegetable cartels.
Overseer of comprador governments that
spray DDT on their own field hands

Carrot juice, though less dangerous,
is not cheap, nor available in Safeway,
Kroger, or Winn-Dixie.
It's the juice of those who know,
those who can afford to shop
in gourmet health food stores

As for the masses, King George says:
Let 'em eat Alar

—Bob Slaymaker, NYC, NY.

I wonder, though, about a significant question you've left unanswered in your description of Canetti's perspective: Does he write as an anarchist? I think it's very significant that there are many, many people with a confusing variety of different theories who criticize more or less adequately various parts of our general social problem. However, most of these people are not able to assimilate an anarchist critique, simply because they have such a difficult time developing any sort of total critique which isn't fatally one-sided and narrowly ideological. I wonder if Canetti is an exception to this rule, or not?

Feeling good

C.A.L.,

Could you send me another package like the one before (*Anarchy's* and *As we see it!*). Have given all away. Sent many to past acquaintances & current friends. Your paper got to Cameroon, Mexico, India, Japan, Hungary, Poland, U.S.S.R., G.D.R., C.S.S.R., Yugoslavia & Jordan. I think your paper is very good, esp. "arts" & direct reports (Greece & forests) & Zerzan's writings. Someone recently wrote that he was boring, & shallow. I find his writings the most bracing & revealing I know. Hope you are well and feeling rich. Am currently in a moronic mental slowdown "internationalist" school. Seeing stupored, routinized peoples' (and other fully vigorous, angry peoples') reactions to things like your paper is one of the things that makes me feel good.

P.K., Brattleboro, VT.

Unnecessary necessities

C.A.L.,

I have not read any material lately on how you guys are comin' along. The last issue I picked up was *Weekly World Anarchy* 1986.

Wow, that seems as if it was yesterday. Needless to say me & the friend that put this zine [*As Time Turns*] out in our school are greatly influenced by you guys. While I am not heavily into total anarchism, your views on government, coverage on world exploitation, politics, drugs, etc. really enthuse me. I am a loyal follower and put views similar to yours in our ancient mag.

We have caught a lot of snot in the wind for our issue. (We are in a military school known as Kemper) which is as socialistic bullshit as it comes. Forced religion, rationed food, money, etc. It takes balls and my views will stand around and within me until the day I die. I wish you would degrade Margaret Thatcher and the so-called "silver fur" Ms. Bush in the next one? Stupid bitches—who do they think they are? Is there a shred of evidence that exists in favor of the idea that life is actually serious? No. Civilization is just a limitless multiplication of unnecessary necessities. Please. Write back and I'm sure you will drop me some flyers or something that will interest me and I'm sure it will. Prove this and don't segregate. Send it soon. I'm aching.

Gracias,
T.W., Boonville, MO.

Not my cup of tea

Dear guys of *Anarchy*:

Thanks for free issue thru *Utne Reader*. I don't find the anger displayed in confronting the issues of society to be my cup of tea. I have a less painful and fun way to accomplish happiness in my life and wish to share it with you (see the enclosed letters [*Editorial note: the letters describe The Clairemont Project, which calls for "profit motivated and idealistic folks" to become "one of the founding members of the World Peace Consciousness Centers." Your \$600/month contribution for one year will enable us to buy a 75-100 unit apartment building in San Diego, to be renamed by socially-conscious investors.*]).

If you can find a way to adapt the enclosed concept to the anar-



Letters

chistic viewpoint, it may be of value to your readers.

I do wish to support your new (to me) publication, even if only it keeps the established authority aware of their contradictions. For myself, I'd rather build the positive aspects of what I derive pleasure from in life.

Good luck & warmest regards,
B.B., San Diego, CA.

Out of reach

C.A.L.,

Hello, I came upon several issues of *Anarchy* recently at the same time and as such haven't read them all from cover to cover. But I just finished reading the debates between Lev Chernyi and Jay Kinney in #16 and something seemed missing (but I must admit I haven't had a chance to read all commentary on religion in your recent issues).

The thing that I wanted to point out, if no one else has, is that according to various sciences, human beings have a large portion of their brains which is mostly unused. How do we know or not know if some experiences that can be defined or interpreted as "religious" come from, or have a relationship with, such used/unused portions of our brains?

I'm not saying anything is concrete fact or unfact here, but I still think this can be an important distinction to make in a religion/life/freedom debate. As was pointed out in the lengthy correspondence, experiences and the definitions of such can vary considerably based upon the individual experiencing them, and words and concepts rarely do complete justice to an experience, at least in the eyes of those who want to communicate them.

There are a lot of things that a person can learn about their own minds and the minds of others, but some things are simply out of reach, even for the various "specialists" who study and interpret the brain in some depth. They offer incomplete and biased analysis much of the time, so how and where does a person find a line to draw concerning this big unknown (the mind) and its relation to life?

Let me point out that I'm not trying to invalidate the worth of anyone else's feelings on religion and experience, but as I am not some "ologist" in any formal academic sense, how long can a debate go before the subjects discussed become so broad that a stalemate is reached due to debaters' simple lack of knowledge?

In spite of my views, I very much enjoyed the depth that went into the religion discussion, which sounded more like something from a philosophy book from an anarchist perspective.

Smitty, Troy, IL.

Wilderness ferment

Professor,

We are not "servants of Nature"—we are Nature. To serve ourselves as if separate from the rest of interdependent Nature, at the expense of all other constituent parts, is self-mutilation. Your choice!

I would be glad to take you on a week-long primitive trek into wilderness (and into yourself). A week away from books, schedules, persistent verbal baggage...time to learn from the stillness of rimrock pools and purposeful power of storms beating on unprotected, unmediated flesh. Your illusion that all meaning is a product of human cognition cannot be answered in words, or in the confines of your urban lifestyle; only in the wilderness ferment.

I hope to see you participate in the Earth First! national rendezvous, June 18th through 26th in the Jemez Mountains of New Mexico. My fervent hope is that our workshop on "Anarchy and Radical Ecology" will allow for our remaining distinctions, while inspiring a shared resistance. We'd like the help of other anti-authoritarians who recognize that the struggle to liberate wilderness and the wild in ourselves are one-in-the-same...who recognize that it will be direct action, not rhetoric that challenges the destructive state.

Meet you on the front-lines, Lev? According to reports in *Eco-media* corporate and government sponsored informants are on the increase, in reaction to what they consider to be a growing alliance between environmental activists and anarchist activists. Surely we don't want to disappoint them!

Thanks again for the overall quality of your magazine and your continuing (self-critical) analysis.

Salud!

In "semi-poetic,
semi-incoherent prolixity,"
Lone Wolf

Box 652, Reserve, NM. 87830

Retreat from history?

"Who killed Ned Ludd" [published in *Anarchy* #17] is a critical article not only for the thinking of John Zerzan but also for the entire "anti-technology" tendency. In the article, the Luddites are seen as a forgotten revolutionary grouping. In this heavily documented article, machine breaking by itself is presented as an archetypal challenge to all of capitalism. Despite its large amount of research, there are serious flaws in the reasoning of this article. I wish to connect some of these flaws with problems in the thinking of the anti-technology tendency in general.

Many modern theories of "spontaneous rebellion" date back to the Situationist International (S.I.), a group that saw a communist revolution starting as a critique of everyday life. In general, Zerzan combines the situationists' critique of daily life with an a-historicism that has often been present in Anarchism. Total revolution is always possible against any form of "alienation" from factories to arithmetic.

Zerzan's writing about Luddism is an excellent example of his appropriation of situationist thought back into the one-dimensional world of simplistic anarchism. With the Luddites (a term in which he lumps the many kinds of anti-industrial revolts that were going on in the beginning of the 19th century, e.g. food riots), Zerzan confuses the resistance to imposition of capitalism with a revolt capable of doing away with capi-

talism. In Zerzan's "Who killed Ned Ludd," Luddism's revolutionary potential is justified almost solely by the statement, "As if the fight by the producer for the integrity of his work-life can be made without calling the whole of capitalism into question." Like the S.I. in *The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle Commodity Economy*, Zerzan relates an insight into the functioning of the capitalist world as a whole with a concrete instance of resistance. He also defends a rebellion that had previously been universally repudiated. The problem is that he is wrong; the Luddites were not a revolutionary force. His reasoning does not give us a real reason to think they were.

Luddism could not threaten capitalism. Not because Luddites were stupid, not because Luddites had no organization, not because people are born to suffer, but because Luddites did not attack the real, coercive relations that existed in the system. Instead of wanting to end wage-labor they wanted to continue it in its previous, less repressive and exploitative form. E.P. Thompson quotes an incident in the 1790s where a mob confiscated corn that a merchant was hoarding and then sold it at a "fair" price, even returning money and bags to the merchant (p.64, *The Making of the English Working Class* [Vintage, 1st edition]), further references to Thompson are to this interesting book). Such expropriations, along with machine wrecking, were the resistance of a static order that was being threatened by the dynamism of capital. These rebellions did not threaten wage labor, private property or commodity production. Zerzan glosses over this point by not discussing any possible system the Luddites would (or wouldn't) put in place of the capitalism that existed in England.

Luddism threatened capital's progress since it threatened the means it used to eliminate living labor from production. But it could not make this attack into an attack on the complete system. Luddites wished to maintain a system of "honest, handicraft" production that was already capitalist. But the honest commodities that were created by the Luddites were as much forces for the creation of a capitalist society as were the shoddy goods produced by the conscripted women and children of

that era. Freely acting capital and not a particular group was what created what Zerzan calls industrialism. As skilled laborers, Luddites would enrich the same masters by day that they terrorized by night (which will be our fate also until capitalist relations are overthrown).

The success that the Luddites had only highlights their reformism. In 1814, the Midlands Luddites had temporarily managed to eliminate most cheap frames and lower wages from their area without overthrowing the government or ending capitalism (Thompson, p.556). According to Thompson, the group then shifted to lobbying parliament for reforms. The capitalists and inventors were agents of capitalism's change but only because capitalism was already in place; destroying the change did not end capitalism.

Zerzan seems to be caught up in the rhetoric that the S.I. used to defend the joy of various rebellions of the sixties. He simplifies the actual state of rebellion to "enjoyment equals anti-capital, misery equals capitalism." He phrases all oppression as being in terms of domination without any historical perspective on the forms of domination. Thus he thinks a slogan like "all tyrants must be overthrown" means that Luddites would end all oppressive relations, although these kinds of slogans had been around since the French and American revolutions and did not imply that the entire social fabric would be uprooted (excepted as need for a capitalist revolution). In one Luddite letter, the next sentence after "all nobles and tyrants must be brought down" reads "Come let us follow the noble example of the brave Citizens of Paris..." (Thompson, p.559), who overthrew a king and established bourgeois democracy. Thompson implies that the Luddites were influenced by Jacobinism. Certainly their organization was similar to the Jacobins—"his (General Ludd, the leader of the Luddite attacks) orders were as implicitly obeyed as if he had received orders from the monarch" (Thompson, p.554).

The rebellion of the Luddites can be contrasted with the Paris Commune (an event that despite its revolutionary qualities, Zerzan and the anti-technologists in general are strangely silent on). In the Paris commune, workers faced

capitalists, as a whole, more or less consciously as the enemy while creating their own (again more or less) self-controlled system. While the commune was somewhat confused about overthrowing capitalist relations, it did create a consciousness of a new order, something the Luddites never did.

The historical creation of the working class cannot be discussed only in terms of the badness or goodness of the progress of capitalism. We must also recognize its unavoidability. The Luddites, even with their successes, were a demonstration of this, not because they lost but because they were doomed to lose. While it was not a good force, capitalism was a "progressive" force in the sense that it transformed a static condition into a condition where people were given an immediately visible view of their oppression. The Luddites could never give rise to the kind of wide-ranging revolutionary workers movements that have existed under capitalism. Only those movements that have looked forward to communism, to the complete abolition of wage labor and commodity production, have been able to truly contest this society.

We can look at these elements to understand Zerzan's thought in general. I do not believe that Zerzan can be lauded simply for his "original and controversial conception" by itself. As revolutionaries, we are in a difficult position. This situation has no forgiveness for being wrong in an interesting way. We have to be right. Beyond the radicality of the fact that implementing his ideas would result in mass starvation, Zerzan dove-tails into "bourgeois ideology." Zerzan's conception shares many fundamental characteristics with the dominant thinking of this period. It is a-historical. It is based on a morality (ideology-bad, working class rebellion-good, domination-bad, opposing technology-good, representation-bad), and it describes a relationship between people as relationship between things (capitalism, which involves people selling their labour is seen only as "industrialism"; the use of industrial technology).

For Zerzan or George Bradford (of the *Fifth Estate*) as for the S.I., "ideology" is bad. But this becomes only a ritualistic denunciation unless they have an idea of what isn't ideology. They don't really have any idea of a practice that could escape ideology. Zerzan's *Questioning Technology* anthology illustrates his accord with the typical thinkers of today in a way that is embarrassing—at least to revolutionaries, we do not want to share stage with today's spectrum of "respected opinions." In his book, fragments of twenty bourgeois thinkers are taken out of context to support Zerzan's single truth—technology is bad. The situationists, among others, have remarked on how all the dominant thinkers of this era tend to concentrate on nothing but a single partial truth. Zerzan seems to fit this definition.

The anti-technology viewpoint is ultimately completely pessimistic and despairing. Anti-authoritarian revolutions throughout history have all ultimately failed. If we are serious about revolution, we need

Continued on next page

AS WE SEE IT!
—columbia anarchist league

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Letters

Retreat from history? Continued from page 29

a theory that shows why revolution could now succeed when it previously has failed. Marx's theory of the development of capitalism gives us a plausible reason, although naturally we must be smart enough to only take the useful parts of his theory. Indeed, I believe that, as far as Marx was successful, it was because he interpreted the real revolutionary movements of his time rather than because of individual greatness on his part.

While Marx gives us important clues to help figure out the over-all behavior of this system; the development of the means of production, the concept of ideology, etc., Zerzan gives us only simple, moralistic reason that alienation gets worse because no one has done anything about it. This brings us to a critique of the entire anti-technology tendency. Since its reasoning about revolution is almost non-existent, this tendency exists in a form that is not immediately usable for revolution—even Zerzan admits that his ideas do not point to any way out of our mess (though he says he still has hope left). But this idea does serve a purpose. While it cannot guide a struggle by itself, it can justify struggles that have nothing to do with either class struggle or threatening the system; Animal Liberation, "Ecology Actions" and other voluntaristic activities of the atomized, moralistic college student are justified by this ideology. The Situationists defined ideology as "the thought of power." When they justify the current pacifist confusionism over revolution, the anti-technologists are being exactly this.

The basic question "what do we have to do to get rid of this system?" has been mythologized. The "struggle" supported by anti-technologists, in general, is both fantastically revolutionary and practically reformist. *Fifth Estate's* main recent activity has been lobbying against an incinerator. Even the sabotage supported by them, while not irrelevant, is exactly the kind of struggle which involves no collective, conscious opposition to capital, only the same passive resistance to capitalism that has always existed but not overthrown it.

The only thing that gives me hope is knowing that the most advanced revolts of the last 150-200 years have evolved in a different direction than all previous revolts. Capitalism can only be overthrown by a movement that consciously rejects all of capitalism in its basic aspects, wage labor, commodity production and the law of value. Only then will its forms be overthrown, from its automobile urbanism to the academic specialization and the stifling of desires.

Against Sleep and Nightmare
POB 3305
Oakland, CA. 94609

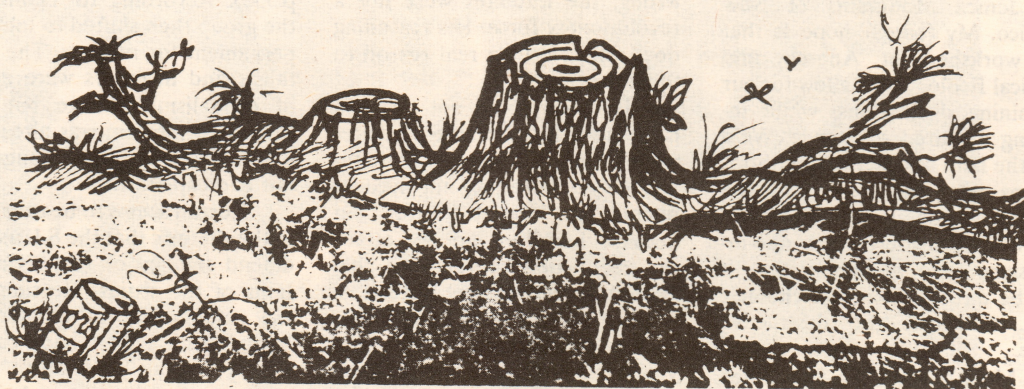
Morgan responds

Having expressed interest, John Zerzan asked me to respond to *Against Sleep and Nightmare's* (ASAN's) letter.

If John Zerzan's article,

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"Who killed Ned Ludd?", shows some of the short-comings/failures of the "anti-tech" milieu, ASAN shows the weakness of the Marxian perspective. While I would term much of John's work utopian, acknowledging all the weaknesses therein, ASAN replicates the crude determinism of the brand of Marxism which borders on social-Darwinism.

For ASAN history equals progress (read the development of capitalism). While admitting that capitalism was not a "good" force, capitalism was "progressive" because only because of its existence are people able to see their oppressions. But why only then? Well, if you are going to define your goal as being "the abolition of wage labor and commodity production" of course capitalism is needed, since those institutions primarily exist in capitalism. It is a tautological argument, you can't argue against it because it defines itself. But if

capitalism is needed for communist consciousness, how does ASAN explain medieval communists such as the Diggers? For in the 1640s, when capitalism had not yet developed into a whole system, they advocated a program which would be considered radical communism even today.

ASAN is unfortunately stuck with the social-Darwinist form of evolution which sees capitalism as the pinnacle of human organization yet achieved. So looking backwards, ASAN sees the communitarian rebellions of the past with paternalism. Unlike the capitalist talking about his "Poor brown brother," these Marxists sigh about the poor feudal peasant who couldn't see the causes of their problems or do anything concrete about them. What Bullshit!

If ASAN finds history so important, why isn't the work of John Zerzan and the *Fifth Estate* put into the history of the

context of the development of the North American revolutionary milieu? "Who killed Ned Ludd?" appeared in the April 1976 *Fifth Estate* (FE), when both the FE and John were fighting the crass syndicalist tendencies within the anarchist movement at that time. These essays were meant to challenge the assumptions which the ideologies of anarchism and "libertarian" Marxism are founded upon. And I do agree with ASAN that these essays lack a "historicism," but it's not because they are not within ASAN's determinist framework, but because they are not set in, or given context within contemporary social movements. That is the reason why when one reads one of John Zerzan's or George Bradford's pieces you have the feeling "Yeah, but so what?"

And today John "concedes" that it may be an open question whether to term the Luddites revolutionary; he would still call

them radical. I agree. In their fight against the degradation of their lives, the Luddites are as, or even more, important than the 160 years of trade unionism following them.

It is such a fight against the degradation of capital upon our lives which ASAN denounces as moralism. But what then is the basis of any revolutionary consciousness? Agreement that it is historically possible to achieve socialism? Hell no! It is the real knowledge that life in this society stinks and it is getting worse and you want to change life. Only a hyper-intellectual can deny these real feelings for a theory devised in the 1800s.

ASAN also states that the "anti-tech" milieu is both "fantastically revolutionary and practically reformist." What ASAN fails to understand is there is a big difference between reforms and reformism. One can fight for a lessening of a particular problem in a revolutionary manner (eg. using direct action and maintaining and asserting one's ultimate goal of revolution). Being a reformist means you wish to incorporate change into a system which you want to leave intact. Having talked to *Fifth Estate* people about their work in the Evergreen Alliance, I hardly think they were reformist, even though I think they made some mistakes. And I understand some of ASAN's people were involved in the East Bay squatter scene, is this not as "reformist" as the Evergreen Alliance?

And why then doesn't ASAN also critique Marx in the same fashion? How can they explain his overt reformism, from the *Communist Manifesto* on? Or his active disinterest in the Paris Commune as it happened? How do these actions reflect his basic assumptions? Yes, he "interpreted the revolutionary movements of his time," but his interpretations led to social-democracy and Leninist state-capitalism.

Given those criticisms, I agree with much of what ASAN says about the anti-authoritarian milieu. They hit it right on the head when they say the "anti-techs" don't know what to do or where to go. Once again it is because that milieu has failed to put its analysis into context of social movement. So revolution is a series of isolated rebellions, defiant acts and individual temper tantrums. But the reductionism of ASAN also fails, in that it posits an equally "fantastic" revolutionary movement, that of a homogenized, collective, revolutionary proletariat. What can an individual do except publishing tracts proclaiming the necessity of world revolution?

I would agree with ASAN that the anti-authoritarian milieu needs to recognize the centrality of wage-labor, commodity production and the law of value in our oppression. They have been overlooked by many anti-techs in their rush to denounce the very real dangers and oppressions of industrialism. But ASAN and "libertarian" Marxists in general also need to give up the reductionism which makes real people and their desires into mere pawns of an abstraction called history. The class war is being fought constantly, in every place from the



workplace to each individual's mind.

Morgan Feralchilde,
Portland, OR.

John Zerzan's postscript

The Ned Ludd article deals with resistance to the advent of industrial capitalism, the more generic system having existed since the rise of towns around 1000 A.D. (that is, co-existing with feudalism). As to what fraction of Luddite resistance had a more or less sweeping refusal of industrial capitalism per se, the answer is elusive but I think evidence shows it to have been a considerable fraction.

Morgan is right to refer to earlier European movements with very radical aims, and I must say to Against Sleep and Nightmare that the possibility of liberation lives at every moment: there is always a potential for happiness before us, even though the odds against its realization may vary. Our Marxist critic implies that the factory system, cardinal instrument of modern domination, is the *sine qua non* of revolution, that millions of corpses and a ravaged planet are necessary to stand upon in order to comprehend the need of a breakthrough. Horrifying, but exactly consonant with the Marxist veneration of technological progress.

The rain forests, ozone depletion, acid rain, Bhopal, Chernobyl, Alaska/Exxon—the fullness of technological civilization arrives, and if nature is being abolished before our eyes so is inner nature. A drained society driven to drugs finds its expression in the drunken tanker pilot (March '89), and the dialectic continues.

Productionism, including of course, industrial agriculture responsible for mass starvation in Africa and elsewhere, brings us closer to an absolute impoverishment, supported by its Marxist partisans. Little wonder ASAN chooses to remain anonymous.

John Zerzan, Eugene, OR.

Desire armed

Dear Lev,

I picked up issues #10, 13, 15 & 16 of *Anarchy: a journal of Desire Armed* at the Toronto Anarchist Survival Gathering. I had just gotten into anarchism a little before the "Unconvention" by listening to the Ecomedia Radio Show in Toronto. (Ecomedia is an international anarchist news/wire service. At the time, the radio show was a segment in a "progressive" news program on a cool community radio station.) I then started reading whatever I could find on anarchism (which wasn't very much, or very good for that matter) mostly in the university library. By the time of the gathering I was heavily influenced by Alexander Berkman's *The ABC of Anarchism*.

But after reading all the literature I picked up at the "Unconvention," yours hit me hardest. As we see it! is excellent and I've been passing it around, as well as the journal, to people that are open to it (and there aren't that many). Before reading *Anarchy*, I

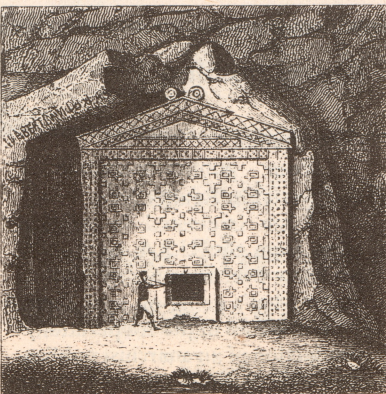
saw anarchism as a logical progression of my personal and socialist tendencies. Anarchism was just a better ideology for me and my beliefs/outlook. (However, I never thought of it in those terms.) Your journal (I mean "your" in a collective sense) provided for me a perfect catalyst. It has been profoundly instrumental in forming my present and realizing my past worldview (for lack of a better word). I have since been involved with Ecomedia and I got us a new (additional) radio show of our own (kind of) on another community radio station called "Desire Armed." I stole the name directly from your journal. I hope you don't mind but I was pressed to come up with another name for our show so that the Marxists at the other station wouldn't fuck us around more than they usually do. (Some people in Ecomedia also put out *Reality Now*, a fine magazine, and the new issue [Winter '88] is available now. They lent me *Anarchy* issues #6, 8, 9, 11.)

However, I have one difficulty with your philosophy. At first I sung the praises of anti-ideology boldly, but after receiving helpful criticisms I wonder if there is such a thing, and if your journal actually does disavow all ideology. If ideology is a rule or set of rules based around a central concept, isn't it correct to assume that you in fact do follow an ideology? That is, wouldn't the rule be that there will be no leaders with official power over others in order to facilitate the goal of us taking direct control of our own lives? If this is so, I think a better way of verbalizing the idea was put in the new issue of *Reality Now* when it was said that "our strength derives not from ideology but from the creative power of the individual within a vibrant social context." This I feel is more accurate because it doesn't deny the fact that there is an underlying ideology to our (or maybe just my) action, but it doesn't give ideology importance, seeing that it is a quite flexible and undirected ideology as far as ideologies go. Or, maybe I'm reading you wrong.

Anyways, I love this journal and I am eternally grateful for some of your insights that you have provided me with. I honestly feel that this is the most important thing that I have ever come across, mostly because of the perfect timing. I am sending you \$30 for a year or two's subscription.... Please send me a copy of Bob Black's "Abolition of Work" if you have any left. And a response to my query would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks,
K.M., Scarborough, Ontario,
Canada

Ps. I was wondering how much you compromise your beliefs in



your everyday life. The flipside to that question is how do you explicitly express these beliefs in your everyday life (jobs, consumption especially). Because personally, I'm embarrassed sometimes about the contradictions in my life. Pps. I'd love to receive *An Introduction to Critical Theory*. Please send it with my subscription.

Lev responds

The answer to your first question regarding ideology, of course depends upon how one defines the word, and on the purpose of discussion. For those who want to identify the word "ideology" with *theory per se*, it will seem impossible to escape the realm of ideology. Obviously, we don't use the term in this way, nor do we use it in exactly the same way as you define it in your letter. In our statement (*As we see it!*), we explicitly state that for us:

"Ideology is the manifestation of character in the realm of logic, language and symbols. It is the means by which alienation and hierarchies...are all rationalized and justified through the deformation of human thought and communication. All ideology in essence involves the substitution of alien concepts or images for human subjectivity. Ideologies are systems of false consciousness in which people no longer see themselves as subjects in their relation to their world. Instead they see themselves in some manner as though they are objects which are subordinated to some type or other of abstract entities which become the "real" subjects or actors in their world. Whenever any system of ideas and duties is structured with an abstraction at its center—assigning people roles or duties for its own sake—such a system is always an ideology. All the various forms of ideology are structured around different abstractions, yet they all always serve the interests of hierarchical and alienating social structures, since they are hierarchy and alienation in the realm of thought and communication...."

So no, we don't have any central "rule" that we follow! However, that doesn't stop us from formulating relatively systematic theories (which are not the same as "rules" in the sense you use) of how we might proceed towards the creation of a more free and less alienating world. And unfortunately, while the formulation used by *Reality Now* which you quote may be suitable for some purposes, it hardly fulfills the purpose of our critique of ideology. Along the same lines you might as well deny that you are, say, anti-capitalist in favor of saying that you "like to give gifts." The two formulations just don't serve the same purposes!

As we use the term, we are obviously not "ideological." However, there will always be antagonistic critics who will duplicitously (often without being aware of their duplicity) attack us as being "ideological" by some other definition of the word which

Continued on next page

this morning a burst of energy catapulted out of my heart. I wanted to embrace everyone and everything in the world. where will I direct this drive?

I taste the glee of biting into this gray system. my unborn life pours forth. there is nothing to calculate; clocks and money are banished to a museum for past miseries. the endurance of frustration fades to memory.

I don't have to hide in lonely holes; I can join others without losing my self. my mind and body and heart open free of any trace of terror. I can stretch into a spiral of pleasure and challenge, while the earth and sky envelop me. THERE IS NO THING I ONCE KNEW.

no streets cars clocks stores cafés money
buses landlords jobs churches culture causes
politics schools sex roles offices banks libraries
hospitals

I AM NOT LOST. I have no need for security; the world is my home. everything is new but familiar.

I used to dream this and it woke me up clutching for a lover, but I knew then I wanted more than that particular pleasure. an ache returned, making me feel weary. the ache became a throb. sometimes the throb leaped into my hands and stared at me, messy, refusing to be ignored.

I HATE what holds me back from LIVING and LOVE reaching to become what I dream of being. I am crying, bleeding, stumbling; I don't want drugs I don't want a job not a new one not even the very best one I don't want to pay and I don't want the burden of one more moment of isolation.

I feel passion like I never have. HOW WILL I SHOW IT? can there be anything beyond how I live now, or is this hope a secret that will abort? I beg my self to keep this baby alive.

Melen Lunn, San Francisco, CA.

dance on the dirt with me, sister
we'll dance with our nipples and our trust

we can move unbridled by time
in the soft summer air at dusk

I want your eyes
I want your limbs
I want your seeds
I want your skin

I want to dance with you
on a mountain by the sea
sharing our weight with the wind

Melen Lunn, San Francisco, CA.

holding my self on a hill
I notice a plane's belly
pink in the sunset

and ponder
freedom
wetness
the texture of a nipple
the petals of poppies
children
tears
velvet
rain

and grandad's slippery tongue
thrust into my mouth.

today
I accept the memory
of my mother's father
who pushed a razor
across my faith in family.

Melen Lunn, San Francisco, CA.

Lev responds

Continued from page 31

they won't explicitly state (or else will falsely attribute to us). We can only continue to point out their bad faith, and the underlying motive which they always conceal--their desire to defend alienation, authority, and repression in some guise. Personally, I can only find such tactics distasteful and ultimately despicable. And, on the contrary side, your own **genuine** questioning of our position is an example of a very rare occurrence.

Regarding your second question about "how much [we] compromise [our] beliefs," I'd have to say that I don't look at it in quite that light. I'm not that concerned about compromising my "beliefs" since I don't care to subordinate my life to any. Rather, I am more concerned about compromising my **desires** (including--in a very secondary sense **only**--their theoretical formulation in abstract conceptual terms like "anarchy" or "the critique of ideology"). Thus I am really concerned with how much I compromise **myself** in my everyday life, and I can only say that I do it as little as I feel and think is possible. I don't feel "embarrassed" when it happens. On the contrary, I feel the pain of the very real injury to my self (and those I am dealing with) that is involved. The widespread circumstances which prevent me from speaking my real mind (and desires) in my everyday life thus create an everyday rage which I have adapted to (just as everyone else has) only with many difficulties and many ongoing problems.

Spectacular Times

Dear Anarchy,

I'm still receiving a lot of mail from the States so I'd appreciate it if you'd publish this and help the word get around.

Larry Law of Spectacular Times died very suddenly in July of last year and so there won't be any new issues. The titles Larry kept in print will continue to be so. @ Distribution/London have taken that over and they are still available from the usual sources.

I'm just tying up the loose ends, but in reality Spectacular Times is no longer in existence, so I guess you really ought to stop sending **Anarchy** on the strength of exchange copies! I'll pick up a copy from elsewhere when I can.

I'd like to thank everyone for their support and correspondence over the years. Larry really enjoyed putting the books together but he depended on the feedback he received to know where he should be looking next.

We gave him a proper Anarchist's send-off, he went out under a red and black flag with black flags flying. He packed a lot into 42 years but he was only proud of being an Anarchist, it coloured everything he did.

Yours,
Liz Swain, London, England

Truisms series

Dear Anarchist type folks,

A few issues (maybe only one or two) ago, you had a picture of a sign in Amsterdam that said,

"Abuse of Power Comes as No Surprise." That phrase is part of the truisms series by Jenny Holzer, a New York artist. She made up 11"x17" sheets of these truisms and pasted them all over Manhattan, beginning in the late '70s. Eventually she evolved into other series, "Survival," "Essays," etc., using various sign media.

Her truisms series was installed in various formats all over the world. Hats, T-shirts, etc. The sides of buildings, banks, etc. She

had an installation at Marine Midland Bank, N.Y., N.Y., 1982, and the only line they censored was "Living on Credit is a bad idea." My information source is the catalog of her exhibit at the Des Moines Art Center in Des Moines, Iowa. The back cover photo is great, the Caesar's Palace sign in Las Vegas reading, "Protect me from what I want."

Yours, etc.,
L.M., Minneapolis, MN.

Nearly nothing

Dear friends,

Your publication/name I discovered in **Reality Now**.

I am interested in publications from the U.S.A. as I think we know over here nearly nothing about what's going on over there. I am involved in the cooperation/-production of an anarchist publication called: **Raaf (Raven)**, made by the Spuigroup/FAA, PB 51217,

Amsterdam. I also am involved in the industrial union called B.O.S., and as group member of the O.V.-B. (a more or less revol. syndicalistic organization), and I do produce four times per year a pro-I.W.A. publication.

For the **Raven** and others I used to collect information, addresses, changes, news in the anarchistic/syndicalistic field.

Things are going well I hope.
My greetings,
K.K., Den Haag, Netherlands



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